THE RAUZAT-US-SAFA

OR

GARDEN OF PURITY.

CONTAINING

The Lives of Abu Bakr, O'mar, O'thmân, and A'li, the four immediate successors of Muhammad the Apostle.

BY

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COMMONLY CALLED MIRKHOND.

PART II

VOLUME THIRD.

Translated from the Original Persian

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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

As Abraham, Moses, and King David, Buddha, Ānanda, and King Asoka, Jesus, St. Paul, and the Emperor Constantine, may, from the PRESENT historical point of view, be looked upon as the authors, founders, and establishers of the Jewish, Buddhist, and Christian religions, so Muhammad, Abu Bakr, and O'mar may be regarded as the authors, founders, and establishers of the faith of Islâm. The two preceding volumes of this part have given full details of the life of the prophet from his cradle to his grave, the present volume contains the lives of his four immediate successors, viz. Abu Bakr, O'mar, O'thmân, and A'li.

While traditions alone have to be depended upon in many matters connected with other religions, for Islâm, dates and facts supply the groundwork on which its rise and progress can be faithfully and historically recorded. It was providential in every way that the faith and zeal of Muhammad were followed by the loyalty and steadfastness of Abu Bakr and the boldness and determination of O'mar, rather than by the weakness, vacillation, and favouritism of O'thmân or the procrastination and mildness of A'li.

On the death of Muhammad, in June, A.D. 632, rebellions and insurrections arose throughout Arabia. It was due to the firmness of Abu Bakr that these were promptly put down His faith in his great master was such that he determined to carry out the ideas and wishes of the prophet even as if he had been still alive. It was this faith which securely laid the foundations of Islâm.

Abu Bakr, duly elected as Khalifah, or successor, in June, 632, ruled for two years and nearly three months, dying of fever in August, 634. The principal events of his reign and of that of his successor, O'mar, may be summarised as follows:

A.H. 11; i.e., March 29th, 632, to March 17th, 633.

Abu Bakr's election to the Khalifate, June, 632. Expedition to Syrian frontier under the command of Asâmah B Zaid, and his victorious return in two months, during which time Madinah had been threatened, but was saved by Abu Bakr's exertions.

Expeditions despatched against the apostate tribes and rebel insurgents throughout Arabia—altogether eleven columns sent out under the commands of Khâled B Alwolyd and others. All of these were successful in this and the following year, and Islâm was firmly established throughout the land.

A.H 12; i.e., March 18th, 633, to March 6th, 634.

Campaign in Chaldæa, or Arabian E'râk, first under Mothanna B Hârethah, and then under Khâled B. Alwolyd, and the victories there

Campaign in Syria, begun by Khâled Bin Said and others, who were defeated in one action, and did not make any progress against the enemy.

A.H 13; i.e, March 7th, 634, to February 24th, 635.

Khâled B Alwolyd transferred from Chaldæa to take the command in Syria. His famous march across the Syrian desert, and reorganization of the armies. Wins a great victory in September, 634.

Further fighting in Arabian E'râk under Mothanna.

Death of Abu Bakr, August, 634. Is succeeded by O'mar B. Alkhattâb, named and appointed by Abu Bakr before his death. O'mar at once removes Khâled B. Alwolyd from, and appoints Abu O'baydah B. Jurrâh to, the command of the armies in Syria.

Fresh levies for Arabian E'râk, and further fighting and successes there under Abu O'baydah B. Masu'd Thaqfy and Mothanna B. Hârethah. Defeat and death of the former at the Battle of the Bridge. Subsequent victories under Mothanna.

Campaign in Syria continues. Siege of Damascus, December, 634.

A.H. 14; I.E., FEBRUARY 25TH, 635, TO FEBRUARY 13TH, 636.

Capture of Damascus in the summer of 635, and further victories in Syria at Ba'lbek and on the Yarmûk.

Renewed campaign in E'rak. Sad B. Mâlek appointed commander there. Battle of Kâdesyah—a fearful struggle and great Arab victory, November, 635.

Occupation of Hira, January, 636.

A.H. 15; I.E., FEBRUARY 14TH, 636, TO FEBRUARY 1ST, 637.

More fighting in E'râk. Siege of Madâin, which lasted some months.

Campaign in Northern Syria continued. Hamss [Emessa], Aleppo, Antioch, and other towns taken. Heraclius returns to Constantinople. Palestine invaded. Jerusalem besieged and capitulated end of 636, O'mar having come from Madinah to receive the capitulation in person.

A.H. 16; I.E., FEBRUARY 2ND, 637, TO JANUARY 22ND, 638.

The campaign in E'râk continues. Madâin taken March, 637. Jalûlâ captured December, 637. The era of the Hejret, or Hegira, established.

A.H. 17; I.E., JANUARY 23RD, 638, TO JANUARY 11TH, 639.

Kûfah and Bossrah founded. The influence of these two towns on the future destinies of Islâm is described by Sir William Muir in 'The Caliphate: its Rise, Decline, and Fall,' p. 135, as follows:

'Kufa and Bussorah, unique in their origin, had a singu-

lar influence on the destinies of the Caliphate and of Islâm at large. The vast majority of the population were of pure Arabian blood. The tribes which, scenting from afar the prey of Chaldæa and Persia, kept streaming into Chaldæa from every corner of Arabia, settled chiefly there. At Kûfa the races from the south of the peninsula predominated; at Bussorah from the north. Rapidly they grew into two great and luxurious capitals, with an Arab population each of from 150,000 to 200,000 souls. On the literature, theology, and politics of Islâm the two cities had a greater influence than the whole Moslem world besides. Service in the field was desultory and intermittent. The intervals were spent in idleness Excepting when enlivened by the fruits of some new victory, secluded harems afforded their lords little variety of recreation or amusement. Otherwise, the time was whiled away in the converse of social knots, and in these, while they discussed the problems of the day, they loved still more to live in the past—to recall the marvellous story of their faith, and fight their battles over again. Hence tradition and the two great schools of Bussorah and Kûfa. But the debates and gossip of these clubs too often degenerated into tribal rivalry and domestic scandal The people grew petulant and factious, and both cities became hotbeds of turbulence and sedition. The Bedouin element, conscious of its strength, was jealous of the Coreish, and impatient at whatever checked its own capricious humour Thus factions sprung up, which, controlled by the strong and wise arm of O'mar, broke loose under weaker Caliphs, rent the unity of Islâm, and brought on disastrous days, that but for its marvellous vitality must have proved fatal to the faith.'

Rising in Northern Syria suppressed, and Cæsarea taken.

A H 18, I E, JANUARY 12TH, 639, TO JANUARY 1ST, 640

Famine and plague throughout the land O'mar again goes to Syria. Moa'wiah Bin Abu Sofiân appointed to the chief command there on the death of Abu O'baydah B Jurrâh.

A.H. 19; I.E., JANUARY 2ND, 640, TO DECEMBER 20TH, 640.

Advance upon Persia. Sus, or Shushan, the ancient capital of Media, taken.

Conquest of Egypt commenced by A'mru Bin A'ass.

A.H. 20, I.E., DECEMBER 21ST, 640, TO DECEMBER 10TH, 641.

Alexandria taken and Egypt conquered.

Persian campaign continued.

A.H. 21; I.E., DECEMBER 11TH, 641, TO NOVEMBER 29TH, 642.

Battle of Nehâwend. A great, decisive, and final victory over the Persians.

A.H. 22; I.E., NOVEMBER 30TH, 642, TO NOVEMBER 18TH, 643.

Conquest of the Persian Empire.

Consolidation of Syria by Moa'wiah, and of Egypt by A'mru.

A.H. 23, I.E., NOVEMBER 19TH, 643, TO NOVEMBER 6TH, 644.

Death of O'mar, assassinated by a Persian slave after a reign of a little more than ten years, November, 644. Is buried by the side of the prophet and Abu Bakr in A'ayshah's house

The conquests made during the Khalifate of O'mar are given at page 135 of this volume. It was these campaigns and conquests which established Islâm not only in Arabia, but also in Syria, Egypt, Chaldæa, and Persia. Had the Arabs remained inactive in Arabia, dissensions would have broken out among themselves. Conquest and victory, booty and plunder, brought the tribes together, consolidated them to a certain extent, and laid the foundations of that Arab Empire which, commencing with the foresight of Abu Bakr and O'mar in A.D. 632, ended with the Abbasides at the fall of Baghdad in 1258.

O'mar on his deathbed had named six of the companions as the electors of his successor. These, failing to agree among themselves, placed the election in the hands of one of their number—viz., A'bdu-r-rahman B. A'wuf—who, after deliberation and consultation, appointed O'thmân B. O'ffan as Khalifah the beginning of A.H. 24, or November 7th, A.D. 644.

From the very first affairs did not run smoothly. The jealousy of the family of Hashem and of the family of O'mmaiyah* began to show itself, and O'thmân, weak and vacillating, treated his own relations with too much favour in appointing them to various posts. The recall of Merwân B. Hakum from exile, his marriage with O'thmân's daughter, the largesses bestowed upon him, and the attention paid to his very bad advice on various occasions, caused great discontent. Again, many of the Bedouin tribes became impatient of the superiority of the Koraish, and factions in Bossrah and Kûfah increased these feelings. The frequent change of governors in these two towns, the inhabitants of which were becoming difficult to manage, also added to O'thmân's troubles. The recension of the Korân, and a change in some of the ceremonies performed at the Mecca pilgrimage, further raised a feeling of discontent in some places, and added to his unpopularity, which eventually led to his murder after a reign of nearly twelve years, in A.H. 35, or June, 656.

During this period Moa'wiah had held Syria firmly, and consolidated his power there to such an extent that he began to consider himself more as the sovereign than the governor of that province. A'bdullah B. Sa'd Abu Sarj, the successor of A'mru B. A'ass in Egypt, made some conquests in Africa, and gained some naval victories off Cyprus and Alexandria, while A'bdullah B. A'amer conquered Khorâsân, including Nishâbûr, Sarakhs, Merv, Hirat, and other places, to all of which governors were appointed.

On O'thmân's death A'li Bin Abu Ttâleb was requested

* See genealogical table, Appendix C, p. 797, of Part II., vol. ii., of this work.

by the companions and other notables to assume the reins of government and become their Emâm. To this he consented, and after a little by-play was installed as the fourth Khalifah on June 23rd, 656. His difficulties began at once, and the question as to the punishment of the murderers of O'thmân was continually being raised during the whole of his reign, and was to him a constant source of trouble, though he declined to move in the matter for fear of alienating many of his followers. Against the advice of his best counsellors, A'li determined to remove Moa'wiah and others from their posts without delay. This, and the refusal to punish the regicides, led to the struggles which terminated in the battles of Jamal [*i.e.*, of the camel] and Ssafyn, full details of which, and the events that followed them, will be found in the pages of this volume. Towards the end of his reign the rebellion of the Khowârej, or Kharejites, and the loss of Egypt, wrested from him by A'mru B. A'ass for Moa'wiah, caused him much trouble, annoyance, and grief. But things might have settled down and satisfactory arrangements been made for the future, when A'li passed away, struck down by the hand of the assassin, Ebn Mulajjam, in A.H. 40, or January 25th, A.D. 661.

With the death of A'li ends the second part of Mirkhond's voluminous history. The third part of it contains the adventures and doings of the twelve Emâms and of the O'mmayad and Abbaside Khalifahs, but it is not proposed to publish the translation of this at present. A summary of the lives of the Emâms, by Mr. E. Rehatsek, will be found in the *Indian Antiquary* of August, 1876, while Dr. Weil's 'Geschichte der Chalifen,' and Sir William Muir's 'The Caliphate: its Rise, Decline, and Fall' [1892], contain full and interesting information on the subject of the two dynasties mentioned above.

Further translations from Mirkhond may appear hereafter, but the two first parts of his great work are the most valuable. They show how one of the great religions of the world was established with a form of faith simple in the extreme and within the comprehension of even the

uncivilized and the uneducated. The Moslem versions of our present Bible stories scattered throughout the Korân are collected and put together by Mirkhond in an interesting way, and show that Muhammad must have been well acquainted with the traditions of the Jewish and Christian religions; but whether he obtained these from oral tradition only, or from oral tradition and from such writings as may have been in existence at that period, it is difficult to say. Anyhow, at present more is supposed to be known about the Korân than about any other sacred writing of the East or West. It was promulgated between the years A.D. 610 and 632, and put together exactly as it is now between the years 632 and 650. We must not suppose that it contains the very words as they fell from Muhammad's lips in chronological order, for the text was collated in rather a haphazard way, and many of the verses were, perhaps, inserted into chapters to which they did not really belong. Still, making allowance for mistakes, additions, and interpolations by the compilers and copyists, the Korân may fairly be considered as a representation of the ideas which Muhammad wished to convey to his followers and adherents, and as such it has remained unaltered for more than twelve hundred years.

For historical purposes it will be necessary to print and publish later on the biography of Muhammad the apostle according to the tradition of A'bdu-l-Malek B. Hisham as obtained from Muhammad B. Ishâk. These works, written in the eighth and ninth centuries, ought to be compared with Mirkhond's work, written in the fifteenth century, and the influences of time upon history will then be clearly evident. Moreover, by following the later authors up to the earlier ones, we are brought within a reasonable distance of the life and death of the prophet and the promulgation of the Korân, about which matters the more reliable and trustworthy information we can obtain, the better will it be for general knowledge. The manuscript, containing a complete translation of Ibn Hisham's work from the

original Arabic into English, is now in my possession, and ready for the press.

But the next work to be published by the Oriental Translation Fund, New Series, will be a translation of the latter half of one of the most extraordinary Arabic books in existence; viz., Al-Harìri's Mukāmât,' or Assemblies. The whole work contains fifty stories, or essays, showing the wonderful flexibility and the many-sided meanings of the Arabic language, the richness of its rhetoric, and the wonders of its philology. Of these fifty most interesting productions, twenty-six were translated and published by the late Mr. Thomas Chenery in 1867, and the remaining twenty-four have now been done into English by the well-known Arabic schŏlar, Dr. F. Steingass. These two volumes will supply a work in the English language which will be well worth the notice of Arabic scholars throughout the world.

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LIVES OF ABU BAKR, O'MAR, O'THMÂN AND A'LI.

ACCORDING to the promise given at the commencement of this work, it is now time for the musky reed to engage in recording some accounts of the events and times of the Khalifates and governments of the companions [of the prophet], craving that He who bestows unstinted benefits may vouchsafe me the favour of His grace with the strength of collecting and composing, so that this second part may be terminated by Divine favour after bringing to an end these accounts without exaggeration or diminution.

RECORD OF THE KHALIFATE OF ABU BAKR, WITH SOME EVENTS WHICH TOOK PLACE DURING IT.

The leading chroniclers—Allah have mercy on them—have narrated that when his holy and prophetic lordship —u. w. bl.—had departed from this world, the abode of misery, to the paradise which is above, the intimate friends and favourites of his lordship assembled in the august mansion, and began to consult with each other on the manner of washing and burying his ambergris body. On this occasion Moghirah B. Sha'bah arrived, and informed O'mar B. Al-Khattâb that the chief Anssâr had congregated in the shed of the Bani Saa'dah, where they were wont to discuss important affairs, and intended to surrender the office of the Khalifate, together with the administration of their own transactions, into the hands of Sa'd B.

A'bâdah. O'mar then reported this news to Abu Bakr, whereon both of them, apprehending that injury might result to the foundations of the law and to the palace of the religion, abandoned the corpse of that leader of the world, betook themselves to the shed of the Bani Saa'dah, and were followed by Abu O'baydah B. Jurrâh. The details of this affair are, that when his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. bl—departed from this abode of calamities to the other world, those encircled by the garlands of the law became afraid and sorrowful in consequence of the frailty of human nature, because their opponents were numerous and their allies few. Intelligent men became distressed, sorrow for Musalmâns and Musalmânship overpowered the young and the old of them, the flames of envy and jealousy commenced to blaze in the hearts of hypocrites and doubters, all of them propagating rumours, making inquiries, and holding meetings in every corner of Madinah In the assembly of the Mohâjer and Anssâr, one Abu-l-Hashim B. Altahiân, who was among the twelve chiefs, rose to his feet and recited some poetry to the effect that permanency in this world is impossible, that at present a fearful danger had arisen in consequence of the demise of the lord of apostleship—u. w. bl.—that wise men have become dismayed, and that enemies who had been humbled were now again lifting up their heads because this calamity had taken place, Moseylamah the liar had in Yamâmah, and Ttolhah B. Khowylad had among the Bani Asad, donned the cuirass of rebellion and taken up the buckler of dissension, and although at present the foes are only rejoicing, the future is to be taken into consideration, because the face of to-morrow must be looked upon in the mirror of to-day. 'Be ye aware,' said he, 'for a certainty, and not by way of probability, that unless one of the Qoraish chiefs concerns himself with the Khalifate [i e., successorship to the prophet], and engages in settling this affair, the people of Muhammad will be more distressed than a flock without a shepherd or a sown field without rain, and I hope that either A'li or Abu Bakr Ssiddiq, or some other man of

authority, will address the people on this important matter.' Then Abu Bakr Ssiddiq made his appearance, and spoke as follows: 'O ye assembled Mohâjer and Anssâr![1] If any one of you worships Muhammad, he has departed to the vicinity of God the Most High; but if the object of your adoration be the Lord of heaven and earth, namely God the Most High and Holy, He is exempted from annihilation or diminution. If no one is appointed to govern the Musalmâns, the religion will be injured; you must therefore hold a consultation, and elect one who is worthy to be invested with the garland of the administration.' The adherents of Islâm replied: 'We shall hold consultation, and adopt whatever measure we may agree upon.' They then assembled in the shed of the Bani Saa'dah, where Dhu Shahâdatyn Khozaymah B. Thâbet adjured the inhabitants of Madinah to entrust one of the Anssâr with the administration, and not to invest a Qoraishi with the [office of the] Khalifate. The greater part of the people said: 'Thou hast spoken the truth! We have agreed to be governed by Sa'd B. A'bâdah, and have placed the business of command and prohibition on his neck.' But Asyd B. Khadzyr demurred to this proposal, extolled the noble qualities of those who had shared the exile [of the prophet], and A'wym B. Saa'dah confirmed what he had said. In short, a difference of opinion having arisen among those people, Abu Bakr, O'mar, and Abu O'baydah made their appearance in the assembly, and beheld Sa'd B. Abâdah—who had on account of some indisposition a blanket on his head—surrounded by a crowd of Anssâr desirous to pay him allegiance. When the noble Mohâjer had entered the shed, and were sitting awhile, Thâbet B. Qays rose to his feet, and having spoken some words concerning the virtues and excellent qualities of the Anssâr, explained that it was necessary to invest one of them with the office of the Khalifate and the administration. Abu Bakr then spoke a few appropriate and cogent words in

[1] For explanation of these names see Part II., vol. i., note 225, p. 251, of this work.

reply, whereon one of the Anssâr said: 'Let there be one Amir from us, and one Amir from you.' As it was, however, evident to all men of experience that it is as impossible for two governors to abide in one place as two swords in one scabbard, Fârûq [*i.e.*, O'mar] desired to speak, but Ssiddiq [*i.e.*, Abu Bakr] beckoned to him to be silent, whereon O'mar withdrew his tongue into his palate, and Abu Bakr said: 'O ye Anssâr people, we admit your excellence and virtues, neither have we forgotten the strenuous efforts you made in strengthening the foundations of the place of the [religious] law, and spreading out the surface of the religion; but the Qoraish enjoy among the Arabs nobility and excellence not possessed by others. The Arabs will gird their loins of obedience and subservience to nobody except to one of the Qoraish, it will, therefore, be proper that one of us should be the Amir and one of you the Wazir. Be in dread of God the Most High and Glorious, and do not act so as to cause dissension in Islâm, and a breach in the rampart of the noble law!' Then Moa'an B. A'dy rose and said: 'O ye Mohâjer people, I swear that we honour and respect you, but I fear that an emergency may arise, which will be against the requirements of justice.' O'mar said: 'O crowd of Anssâr, have you not heard the prophet of God say that the leaders must be of the Qoraish, and that this office will be with them only? The Khalifate and Amirate belong to none except to the Qoraish.' Bashir B. Sa'd said 'I swear by God that I have heard this statement from the apostle himself, and I am certain this office will devolve upon one of them.' Ssiddiq continued: 'Well done! well done! Thou art a good man, hast spoken properly, and hast perforated the pearl of sense with the diamond of intelligence! I do not covet this dignity for myself, and you must for the good of the professors of Islâm confer it upon one of these two men, namely, O'mar B. Al-Khattâb or Abu O'baydah B. Jurrâh.' They [both] replied: 'By no means! The mark of the Amirship is evident on the pages of thy cir-

cumstances, and the indications thereof plainly appear in the events of thy life! Thou hast been the companion of the apostle of God in the cave, and the confidant of his secrets. How could we assume this important office despite thy excellence, and thy preceding us in the profession of Islâm?' After the discussion about the Khalifship had on both sides been protracted till weariness ensued, most of the friends agreed to appoint Ssiddiq Akbar [*i.e.*, Abu Bakr] to the Khalifate and governorship, whereon Bashir B. Sa'd came forward, exclaiming: 'I swear by God that no one shall forestall me in this act of homage!' After uttering these words, he placed his hand upon that of Ssiddiq, in acknowledgment of his Khalifship and government. Some have alleged that the first man who paid allegiance to Ssiddiq was Fârûq, whilst others state that he was E'bâd B. Bashir. It is reported in chronicles that when Bashir B. Sa'd paid homage, Habbâb B. Almundher said: 'O Bashir, why hast thou abandoned the side of Sa'd B. A'bâdah, and hast striven to make him lose his right? All this is the consequence of the envy thou bearest to him' Bashir replied: 'Allah forbid that I should be in this position with reference to my cousin, but I do not consider it allowable to deprive them of the rights of Musalmâns.' Hereon Habbâb placed his hand on the hilt of his sabre, but a number of the Anssâr having caught hold of Habbâb, pacified him. He then said: 'What is the use of quieting me? Our opportunity is lost! I fancy I already see your children standing at the doors of these people—*i.e.*, the Mohâjer—and asking for a drink of water, but not receiving it.' Ssiddiq replied: 'O Habbâb, acts like these are not to be apprehended from me, or from those who are like me.' Habbâb, now somewhat abashed, inclined his head, and replied: 'No, by Allah! As long as we are alive, we shall cultivate friendship and modesty, but such will not be the case in the next generation, when others succeed us and the circumstances change; Allah, however, aids those who trust in Him.' Having said these words, Habbâb ceased to

speak; whereon the Mohâjer and the tribe of Awus eagerly paid allegiance to Saiddiq, while the Khazraj were greatly dismayed because they had entertained hopes that the office of the Khalifate would be given to their chief, *i.e.*, Sa'd B. A'bâdah. There is a tradition that on the said day the crowding of the people was so great that Sa'd B. A'bâdah was trodden under foot and died, whilst others allege that he was taken to his house alive, and some chroniclers state that Sa'd, having disagreed with the majority, paid no allegiance to Ssiddiq, but departed from Madinah to Syria, where he was some time afterwards killed, at the instigation of one of the magnates of the religion.

It has been recorded in some chronicles that when his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w bl—died, the Anssâr unanimously brought out Sa'd B A'bâdah, who happened to be sick, from his house in order to pay him allegiance, and he spoke to them as follows, after he had praised God the Most High: 'O ye Anssâr people, you have an advantage of old standing, possessed by none except yourselves, because Muhammad—u. w bl.—had dwelt more than ten years among his people inviting them to accept Islâm, but they demurred, except only a few of them. At last, however, his lordship threw, by the will of God the Most High, the ray of his inclination upon your country, and made your town his place of refuge and exile, whereon the blessing of the Faith became your share by the grace of the Beneficent Sovereign. You have protected Muhammad—u. w. bl.—and his companions from the wickedness of their foes, jeopardizing your lives and possessions for the sake of God. By this means the affairs of Islâm prospered, and the Arabs submitted to it willingly and unwillingly. When that prince died he was well satisfied with your laudable efforts, and for this reason the office of the Khalifate and Emâmship is due to you.' The Anssâr replied: 'What thou hast explained is the very truth, and most suitable! Thou art the best and foremost of us! We know no one except thyself who is worthy of

the Khalifate; and if the Mohâjer raise objections on this subject, we shall tell them: "Let there be one Amir from us, and one Amir from you."' Sa'd replied: 'This is the first weakness which you have manifested.' When O'mar had become aware of this event, he informed Abu Bakr thereof, whereon both of them hastened to the shed of the Bani Saa'dah, where the assembly of the Anssâr was being held, and Abu O'baydah B. Jurrâh accompanied them. O'mar says: 'I had determined to deliver a speech in that assembly, and when we reached the place I wished to address the people. Abu Bakr, however, interrupted me, and himself began to speak, but, nevertheless, uttered the very sentiments, without exaggeration or diminution, which I had intended to proclaim.' After Abu Bakr had praised and exalted the Most High, he spoke as follows: 'God—who be blessed and magnified—has sent the apostle to direct and to guide us to adore Him, leading us to bear testimony to His unity. As the Arabs had been worshipping numerous gods from generation to generation, they found it hard to abandon the religion of their fathers and ancestors, therefore they resisted his lordship secretly and openly, accusing him of falsehood. The Lord, however, who vouchsafes gifts before they are deserved, distinguished the first Mohâjer by instilling into them sincere belief, so that they disregarded the smallness of their own number and the multitude of their opponents, as well as the persecutions and evil intentions of the unbelievers, having no fear of them. They are undoubtedly the men who worshipped God the Most High and Glorious on earth and believed His apostle. They are all of his own tribe, and the most worthy of the Khalifate [*i.e.*, successorship] after the apostle of Allah—u. w. bl.—and no one will wrangle with these men except such as have gone astray from the right path. O ye Anssâr people, we are cognizant of your laudable acts, and of what you have done to promote the bright religion, to elevate the banners of Islâm, and to proclaim the ordinances; this is evident to all our contemporaries, therefore the Amirship is to belong to us and the Wazirship to

you, so that no business will be transacted without your consent and consultation.' Habbâb B. Almundher, being of a contrary opinion, said: 'O ye Anssâr people, do not allow the reins of selection to be taken from your hands, and do not assent to be governed by others, you being noble and ready. If they demur to this pròposal, then let one Amir be from among us and another from you.' Fârûq then said: 'Alas! two Amirs will not agree.' Habbâb replied angrily, using irritating words, and Fârûq retorted in similar terms, at last, however, the office of the Khalifate was by the efforts of Bashir B. Sa'd, the Anssâri, conferred upon Abu Bakr Ssiddiq, as has already been narrated above, and on that day the upper classes paid him allegiance. The next day Ssiddiq Akbar mounted the pulpit and delivered his first harangue, the general public paid him homage, whereon the hearts of the gentle and the simple became confirmed to obey and to follow him.

Homage of the Commander of the Faithful A'li—Salutation to him!

It is recorded in some histories that on the second day after the homage to Ssiddiq Akbar, A'li B. Abu Ttâleb was with the approbation of men of intellect brought to a special meeting. When his lordship, the receptacle of vicarship, arrived, he beheld an assembly consisting of prominent Mohâjer and Anssâr, whom he asked why he had been called; whereon O'mar informed him that this had been done for the purpose of his acting in consonance with the companions of the apostle of Allah—u. w. bl.—and likewise paying allegiance to Abu Bakr, as they had done after the latter had been appointed to the Khalifate. A'li said: 'You have pacified the Anssâr, and elected Abu Bakr to the Khalifate because he is a relative of the prophet—u. w. bl.—and I now, having recourse to the same motive, ask you who in the world is more closely related to his lordship. Fear God the Most High and use no subterfuge, but mete out justice as it has been meted out to you!'

O'mar replied: 'I shall not let thee go until thou hast paid allegiance to Abu Bakr as others have done.' The Commander of the Faithful A'li retorted: 'Why should I care for these words? and I shall not abandon my claim as long as a spark of life remains in me.' Abu O'baydah B. Jurrâh then said: 'O father of Hasan, thy excellence and precedence in Islâm are patent to all, therefore thou art meritorious and even more deserving [of this dignity than any other man]; but as the companions of the apostle of Allah—u. w. bl.—have unanimously conferred the Khalifate upon Abu Bakr, thou must likewise consent, and not scratch the face of this arrangement with the nail of opposition.' A'li replied: 'O Abu O'baydah, thou, who wast an intimate friend of his lordship and art trusted by the nation, must respect thyself, and not utter words contrary to the truth. Do not act so as to cause the gift bestowed by the Lord of Glory upon the family of the prophet to be transferred to another stock. The Qurân has been revealed in our houses, we are the mine of religious knowledge and of the ordinances promulged by the prince of apostles; we are better acquainted than others with the principles of the law and the tenets of the religion. Do not act according to the inclinations of your nature, because they will injure you.' Bashir B. Sa'd rejoined: 'O father of Hasan, I swear by God that if the people had become aware of thy sentiments before the election of Abu Bakr, it is probable that not two men among the companions would have opposed thee; but as thou hast remained sitting in thy house, everyone thought that thou entertainest no aspirations to the government and administration. These words of thine are contrary to the surmise of the people, who have feared that the law might be infringed, and have therefore paid homage to Abu Bakr by surrendering this all-important office into his grasp.' A'li said: 'Thou art Bashir, and wouldst have approved of my abandoning the corpse of his lordship the prince of men and quintessence of created beings in the house, caring little how to prepare or to shroud it, and hastening in search of dignity and government.' Ssiddiq

[*i.e.*, Abu Bakr himself] now spoke as follows: 'O father of Hasan, if I had known that thou wouldst contend with me for this dignity I should not have accepted it. Now the people have paid allegiance to me, and if thou agreest with them, my impression concerning thee was not wrong; but if thou art at present unwilling to pay me allegiance, no trouble awaits thee, and thou mayest return in safety.' When A'li the Commander of the Faithful had heard these words of Abu Bakr, he departed without paying him homage, but some say that he did so forty days afterwards, and others after the death of Fattimah Zehrah, whilst yet others allege that he paid allegiance after six months.

It is recorded in the 'Ghoniah' that when Ali had heard of the unanimous consent of the Musalmâns to pay allegiance to Abu Bakr, he quickly left his house without any clothes except his shirt, and thus went to Ssiddiq to pay him homage. After that he sent a person home to bring his robe into the assembly. According to certain traditions, Abu Sofiân said to A'li before the allegiance: 'Art thou consenting that the business of government should devolve upon a man of the Bani Jamym? I swear by God that, if thou art willing, I shall fill this valley with cavalry and infantry.' A'li rejoined: 'O Abu Sofiân, thou wast always raising disturbances in the time of ignorance, and wishest also now to do so in Islâm; but I know that Abu Bakr is worthy of this dignity.' It is on record that when Fârûq [*i.e.*, O'mar] had been apprised of Abu Sofiân's intention to offer assistance they promised to make his son Yazid Governor of Syria, whereon he desisted from his opposition and became loyal.

It is also recorded in the 'Ghoniah' that according to some reports Abu Bakr sent the following letter to A'li when the latter refused to pay him homage: 'From Abu Bakr the Khalifah [*i.e.* successor] of the apostle of God to A'li B. Abu Ttâleb: But after [the usual compliments I state that]: Verily the Musalmâns have paid allegiance to me and consented to my government; consent thou likewise

with them.' A'li the Commander of the Faithful—peace be on him—wrote in reply as follows: 'Thou hast written a letter to me, and mentioned therein that the Musalmâns have paid thee homage and consented to thy government; I, however, who have before all other men been ennobled by the happiness of [professing] Islâm and have believed the apostle, take God the Most High and Glorious to witness that I do not assent to thy Khalifate.' The author of the 'Ghoniah' also states that according to some, Borydah B. Alhassyb Aslami having prepared a standard in his tribe, brought it to Madinah and erected it in front of the house of the Lord A'li. O'mar, having been apprised of this event, informed the man that the nation had done homage to Abu Bakr, and asked him why he was acting contrary to this decision; Borydah, however, replied: 'We pay no allegiance to anyone except to the master of this house. After that some companions assembled to interrogate Borydah, and he appeared among them in response to their summons; they asked him what he meant by the words which he was reported to have uttered. He replied: 'The state of the case is this. Once the apostle of Allah—u. w. bl.—had sent me with Khâled B. Wolyd and other men to march with A'li in the direction of Yemen, and I swear by God that in those days I disliked nothing more than to be near A'li, and liked nothing more than to be far from him. When we had returned from the journey, I first waited upon the apostle of Allah, who asked me how I had left A'li, but I slandered him on account of the aversion I felt towards him in my heart. His lordship felt displeasure, and the signs of it manifested themselves on his blessed countenance, wherein he asked: "O Borydah, do they slander among you the man who will be the foremost after me?" When I heard these words uttered by the wonderfully eloquent tongue of that prince, I said: "O prophet of Allah, I turn back to God and repent of what may be the cause of thy anger; I request thee to pray for me and to ask pardon for me." His lordship then called out to A'li, who then entered the mosque, and, sitting down in a corner, engaged

in arranging his sandals. I then said: "O apostle of Allah, fulfil thy promise, A'li has arrived." His lordship then said: "O mender of sandals, this is Borydah, who slanders thee and is unfriendly towards thee; but I asked him whether among them a man is slandered who will be the first after me, and he requested me to ask pardon for him."' Borydah says: 'After these words the apostle of Allah—u. w. bl.—prayed for my pardon, and A'li likewise asked forgiveness on my behalf, whereon I returned home' It is said that in the battles of Jamal and of Ssafyn Borydah was attending upon A'li

Records of Asâmah's going to the Frontiers of Syria.

When Ssiddiq Akbar had become established in the [dignity of the] Khalifate, he ordered it to be proclaimed in Madinah that none of the troops of Asâmah should lag behind, and that no one whom the apostle of Allah—u. w. bl.—had ordered to march with Asâmah should consider it licit to be tardy. Hereon certain intelligent and discerning companions represented to Ssiddiq that these troops which he was ordering to march with Asâmah on a Ghazâ [expedition] constituted the bulk of the army of Islâm, and that if this became known to certain Arab tribes and Jews dwelling around Mekkah in a state of opposition and rebellion, the departure of Asâmah might become detrimental to the country and the religion, and that therefore it would be better if this expedition could be delayed for awhile. Ssiddiq, however, replied: 'Though ravenous beasts of prey may tear me to pieces in the absence of Asâmah, I shall nevertheless send him away.' It is reported that certain Anssâr told Fârûq to ask the Khalifate [i. e. successor] of the apostle of Allah, namely, Abu Bakr, to give the command of these troops to someone more aged and experienced than Asâmah. Fârûq reported this advice to Ssiddiq, who, however, taking hold of the beard of Fârûq, said: 'May thy mother be childless, O son

of Khattâb, the apostle of Allah has appointed him to this part, and thou tellest me to remove him therefrom?' In fine, Ssiddiq issued orders to Asâmah to hasten to his destination. The latter accordingly mounted his camel and started in the direction of Syria, Ssiddiq accompanying him on foot, despite all the entreaties of Asâmah to mount and allow himself to alight. He ordered the officers of the troops not to commit treachery by slaying children, aged persons or women. They were not to fell fruit-bearing trees, nor to injure monks engaged in churches and monasteries in the adoration of God the Most High. After having completed his admonitions, Ssiddiq returned to Madinah, and Asâmah marched with the troops of Islâm from stage to stage, first attacking the Qodzaa'h tribes according to the injunction of Ssiddiq and plundering them. It is related that in this expedition Asâmah marched as far as the place where his father Zaid had been killed, and he avenged his death upon them. There is also a tradition that having seen no opponents whatever in this Ghazâ, he marched back and safely reached Madinah. It is reported that after the demise of his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. bl.—factious and perverse men imagined that the adherents of Islâm had no longer sufficient force and power to march forth with an army, and that they might be repelled with ease; when, however, they heard that Asâmah had started from Madinah with so many troops, they were all overpowered by fear, and the Musalmâns rose in their estimation. It is known for a certainty that no one of the army of Asamâh remained behind except Fârûq, and the reason for this was that at the time of leave-taking Ssiddiq informed Asâmah that the presence of O'mar might become necessary in the transaction of important affairs; and that if he thought proper he might give him leave to stay behind, whereon Asâmah complied with the suggestion of Abu Bakr, and O'mar returned to Madinah.

Record of the Murder of Aswad I'sa by the Hand of Fyrûz Dylamy.

When Bâdhân, the Governor of Yemen, had become a Musalmân, he invited the inhabitants of that country to accept Islâm, whereon they all became Musalmâns, Aswad I'sa being one of them. When Bâdhân departed to the gardens of paradise, his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. bl.—despatched a number of men to Yemen, each of whom was to take charge of the administration of a place, the details of this affair being as follows: He conferred the governorship of Najrân upon O'mar B. Huzâm, appointed Khâled B. Sa'yd B. Abu-l-a'ass over a place situated between Najrân and Zobeyd, he made A'amer B. Fahyrah Governor of Hamdân, granted the administration of Ssa'na, which is the capital of Yemen, to Shahyr B. Bâdhân, appointed Abu Mûsa over Mâreb, Zyâd B Wolyd, the Anssari, over the districts of Hadzramant, and in the same manner various places were assigned to O'kâshah B. Thûr, to Mohâjer B. Ommiah and to Ttâher B. Abu Hâlah. He appointed A'li B. Moniah to be commander-in-chief of the whole army, and sent Mo'adh B. Jabal to teach the people of that country the laws and ordinances of Islâm All these men fulfilled the duties imposed upon them, but when his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w bl.—returned towards the close of his life from Mekkah and fell sick in Madinah, Aswad I'sa, surnamed A'hylah B Ka'b, and also called Dhu-l-hamâr, laid claim to prophecy in the districts of Yemen. He was a soothsayer and dexterous in the art of juggling, in which he performed so many strange and wonderful tricks that many persons of the Mudhaj tribe believed him and considered him to be a true prophet. Qays B. A'bd Yaghuth, who was one of the grandees of that country, having strayed from the right path, became his general, and desired to attack Shahyr B. Bâdhân with seven hundred valiant horsemen, and marched for that purpose to Ssa'nâ. Shahyr B. Bâdhân on his part also-

left the town of Ssa'nâ intending to meet Aswad, and after the two parties had encountered each other, champions sallied forth from both sides, challenged their opponents to fight, and the contest began. The breeze of victory, however, was, at the behest of the Creator of good and evil, wafting in favour of the troops of Aswad, and Shahyr B. Bâdhân lost his life. Hereon Aswad entered Ssa'nâ, took charge of the government of Yemen, and asked the wife of Shahyr B. Bâdhân in marriage, and this woman had a cousin, Fyrûz by name, whom Aswad appointed with another man, called Dâduyah, to govern the Persians settled in Yemen.

It is on record that A'mru B. Ma'dy Kareb, who had waited upon the apostle of Allah and made profession of Islâm, had entertained hopes that his lordship would confer the governorship of Zobeyd upon him; but as that prince had surrendered the reins of the administration of Zobeyd to another, A'mru returned disheartened to his country. When Aswad I'sa laid claim to prophetship and A'mru apostatized, he became an adherent of Aswad, whose affairs prospered by his adherence so that he became master of the whole of Yemen, wherefore the minds of the professors of Islâm became overpowered by fear so that they dispersed, and O'mar [B. Huzâm] returned with Khâled to Madinah, while others gathered around Ttâher B. Abu Hâlah. When his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. bl.—was apprised of what had taken place, he wrote a letter to his officers commanding them to attack the false pretender. The hearts of the professors of Islâm having been comforted, Mo'adh B Jabal, who had been in hiding for fear of Aswad, made the greatest efforts to put a stop to the wicked attempts of that accursed fellow.

It is on record that in those days Qays B. A'bd Yaghuth, Fyrûz and Dâduyah, whom Aswad trusted, were dismayed at his perverse actions, so that when the noble letter of the apostle of Allah—u. w. bl.—arrived, these three men agreed to kill Aswad. They looked for an opportunity, and made those who were of the same opinion with them consent to

the proposal of slaying him. It is said that Aswad had a Satan who secretly conveyed news to him, so that when he had become aware of what was going to take place he privately summoned Qays, and said to him: 'Thou hast, with a number of other men, conspired to slay me, but it is possible that such a calamity may befall yourselves.' Qays hereon swore by the life of Aswad that such a thing was not contemplated, and, leaving Aswad, informed his friends what Aswad said, telling them that they must be on their guard because he might possibly inflict a great injury upon them. Meanwhile a letter from A'amer B. Shahyr and Dhy-l-Kalâgh and from other great Amirs who were discontented arrived, and its contents were as follows: 'You must make strenuous efforts to ruin and to annihilate Aswad, and we are steadfast in our determination to second your efforts and to aid you.' Fyrûz says: 'After that a company of us agreed to kill Aswad. I paid a visit to his wife, who was the daughter of my uncle and a trustworthy Musalmân woman, to inform her of our plot, and that true believing person replied "I have not seen a worse man than ~~him~~; he is drinking all night and sleeping till dinner-time, nor does he perform an ablution after the emission of sperm. I have concocted a stratagem that you come to a certain garden at an appointed time when I shall inform you in what house he is going to spend the night, because he is suspicious of his own Amirs and intimates, and his castle is full of watchmen. You must come during the night, dig a hole in the place where he is, surprise him, and slay him."' Fyrûz continues: 'At nightfall I proceeded with Dâduyah and Qays B. A'bd Yaghuth to the appointed place. When we had bored through the wall, I asked which of us was to enter the house, but Dâduyah replied that, being aged, his blow might possibly not produce the desired effect, and when I asked Qays, he said that he felt alarmed whenever he had to fight, and by the awakening of Aswad his attempt to destroy him might be foiled. After my companions had thus disappointed me, I was under the necessity of myself entering the house, but had,

in the haste in which I was, forgotten to take my sword; I was inclined to return and to bring it, but, fearing that meanwhile Aswad might awake, I, being at that time a very strong man, rushed upon him, took hold of his beard with one hand, twisting his neck with the other so that it broke and he roared. The watchmen, having heard his unhallowed voice, became confused, assembled at the door, and asked his wife what had befallen their prophet. She beckoned to them to remain quiet, and told them that this was the time of the descent of a Divine revelation, on account of the weight of which the prophet was moaning.' Fyrûz continues: 'Then Qays entered the apartment and separated the head of Aswad from his body. We departed to our houses and slept. When the morning dawned I shouted the call to prayers, and many of the adherents of Aswad having heard it, snatched up their arms and rushed at us, whereon we threw the corpse of Aswad before them. When they beheld their lord and prophet in this condition they dispersed, each hiding in a corner. The religion of Islâm having been strengthened and made secure by our swords, Mo'adh B. Jabal and all the other adherents of the Faith of Muhammad who had lain in concealment now came out, and we despatched the news of this victory to the Khalifah [*i.e.*, successor] of the apostle of God.' It is said that the dominion of Aswad in Yemen lasted three months, and that the first repulse of Islâm in that country had been effected by that accursed fellow.

Harangue of Ssiddiq, and Account of Some Apostates.

Historians have narrated that when Abu Bakr Ssiddiq had become established in the Khalifate, he delivered the following harangue in a select assembly after he had praised God—whose magnificence be exalted: 'O ye people, be ye aware and apprised that the compact of governing you is established and fixed on my neck. Aid me with your wishes and advice if my life is in conformity with justice

and philanthropy, but admonish me when I am remiss or faulty in the execution of my duties. Abstain from flattering and cajoling me, because to speak the truth is honesty, and to utter falsehood is treachery. Be certain that the weakest person is strong enough for me to cause me to mete out justice to him. Be aware that no men are tardy in encountering the opponents of the Faith without becoming abased and despised, nor can any nation be rebellious and forward in opposition without being overtaken by the vicissitudes of time and sudden calamities. You are to obey and follow me as long as I continue to obey the Creator of the world and of its denizens, but if I perpetrate any act contrary to the ordinances of God, you must likewise abandon loyalty and obedience to me. Farewell.' When Ssiddiq had terminated this allocution, he came down from the pulpit, returned to his house, and engaged with all his might in the discharge of the arduous duties of the Khalifate

A short time afterwards disheartening news arrived from various quarters, that certain Arabs had not only rebelled and apostatized, but that some were laying claims to prophecy, whilst others kept the dues to the public treasury in abeyance, and others, having addicted themselves to ease, neglected prayers and fasting. Ttolhah B. Khowylad Asdy pretended to be a prophet, and was followed by numbers of the Bani Asad. Also Moseylamah the liar proclaimed himself in Yamâmah as a prophet, and gathered many under his deceitful banner. A number of Arabs having been led astray in Moussul by a woman, Sajâh, the daughter of Mundher, considered her to be their prophetess, and girded up their loins in her service to transgression and apostasy. In the same manner the Bani A'amer and Ghuttafân, the Bani Salym, the Bani Tamym, with numerous Arab tribes, to record whom would be prolix, stepped out from the circle of obedience. If the sweetly ambling courser of the reed were to enter the plain of the details of every event, the account would be greatly prolonged, and therefore it will be recorded in a brief manner. In fine, when

Ssiddiq had been informed of the apostasy of the Arabs, he exerted himself with all his might in despatching rank-breaking champions and man-slaying braves to overthrow and conquer the rebels, in order to renovate the tenets of the brilliant law. Of the various commanders whom he sent against the opponents, one was Khâled B. Alwolyd, who marched with three thousand men to attack Ttolhah B. Khowylad Asdy and some other apostates.

Record of the Expedition of Khâled B. Alwolyd against Ttolhah B. Khowylad, and the Killing of Salmy, a Daughter of Mâlek.

When Asâmah had returned from the boundaries of Syria with success and joy, and the legal alms had been recovered from certain tribes who had first demurred to pay them, Abu Bakr occupied himself, in the beginning of the twelfth year of the Hegira,[2] in fitting out and preparing the victory-boding army, and started from Madinah with the intention of marching against Ttolhah B. Khowylad. When he had reached Dhy-l-Khalifah, which is one stage from the city, A'li the Commander of the Faithful took hold of the bridle of his camel, and requested him, in conformity with the circumstances of the time, to abandon this expedition and to send another man to attack Ttolhah Accordingly he appointed Khâled and returned. At that time Ttolhah had stopped at Buzahah, which is a locality near the wells of the Bani Asad, and was there encamped with his army. This same Ttolhah had, during the life-time of his holy and prophetic lordship, made profession of the Faith and attained the honour of companionship. It is said that Ttolhah returned in the time of the Apostle of Allah from Madinah to his own tribe, where he made apostasy his motto, set himself up as a prophet, excused the people from prayers and fasting, considering also the wearing of a belt [of Judaism] allowable. On account of these facilities and Satanic inspirations, numbers of the

[2] Commenced March 18, A.D. 633.

Bani Asad believed in his apostleship; he was joined also by Ghotyah B Hussin, by the Bani Qorârah, and by A'mru B. Ma'dy Kareb. His affairs prospered after the demise of his lordship the asylum of the apostolate—u. w. bl.—and when Khâled B Alwolyd had approached the army of Ttolhah he sent forth O'Kashah B. Mohassin and Thâbet B. Arqam, who were great companions [of the prophet], to reconnoitre the position of the opponents. These two honoured men departed by order of Khâled to the camp of Ttolbah, and it so happened that while they were on the way, Ttolhah had with his brother Salmah left their camp in order to learn something about Khâled, and they met O'Kâshah with Thâbet Salmah assaulted Thâbet, killing him outright whilst O'Kâshah and Ttolhah were fighting with each other, but the latter being unable to cope with his antagonist, called out to Salmah, who immediately came to the aid of his brother, and they, having caused also O'Kâshah to taste the beverage of martyrdom, again returned to their camp. When the army of Islâm arrived at the spot of the contest, they found O'Kâshah and Thâbet slain, and felt that they could have recourse to nothing but resignation and submission [to fate] As both parties were approaching each other, Khâled repeatedly sent messengers to Ttolhah advising him to desist from his antagonism and to abandon this useless strife, but they made no more impression upon him than raindrops on flint-stones. When Khâled despaired of coming to an agreement with Ttolhah, he drew out his forces in lines, appointing A'dy B. Hatim Ttây over the right, and the son of Zaydu-l-hayl to the left flank, he himself taking command of the centre of the army. Ttolhah displayed the forces of the Bani Asad, Ghuttafân, and Qorârah opposite to the army of Islâm, but himself sat down on a spot with a garment over his head, telling the combatants that he was waiting for the descent of Jebrâil [Gabriel]. Then both armies roared like a stormy sea, the dust raised by the cavalry obscured the sun, and Ghotyah B. Hussin approached the army of Khâled with some of the Bani Qorârah, striving to repel it, but ineffec-

tually. When he perceived the firm resistance of the army of Islâm, he was so dismayed that he gave up the attack, went to Ttolhah, and asked him whether Jebrâil had deseended, but received a negative answer. Ghotyah then again, willingly or unwillingly, returned to the attack, and after one hour again went to Ttolhah to ask him the same question, and got the same reply. After that Ghotyah returned to the combat, and, fighting till he despaired and was exhausted, again accosted Ttolhah, asking him whether Jebrâil had come. This time he received an affirmative reply, and therefore asked what he had said. Ttolhah answered: 'Jebrâil spoke the following words to me: *Laka rajâ lâ karajâhu, wa hadithâ lâ yunsa.*' The translator of the *Târikh Aa'thum Kufy* has interpreted the above words as follows 'Thy hope will not be illuminated by the hope of Khâled, and between you there is an affair which will not be forgotten' Ghotyah said, after listening to the above words 'I swear by God that I believe such an affair will befall thee that thou wilt never forget it' Then he turned towards his own people, and continued. 'O Bani Qorârah, place your feet into the desert of flight, because this unfortunate liar is uttering falsehoods.' Having said these words, Ghotyah departed with the Bani Qorârah from the battlefield.

It is recorded in some chronicles that when Ghotyah perceived that the army of Islâm would be victorious, he desisted from fighting, and prepared to retreat. On that occasion Ttolhah asked him where he was going, and he replied · 'Our turn to fight has now come to an end, tell Jebrâil to draw out his hand for war and strife, because it is now his turn.' When the Bani Qorârah had fled, Khâled B. Wolyd broke the lines of the Bani Asad and Ghuttafân by a single onslaught, so that they likewise preferred flight to permanency. When Ttolhah saw that the breeze of victory was blowing in favour of the army of Khâled, he likewise mounted a fleet camel with his wife, left the battle-field, and departed on the road to Syria. Hereon Khâled drew the sword of alacrity from its

scabbard and proceeded to slay a number of Arabs, who had, after apostatizing, caused Musalmâns to drink the beverage of martyrdom. After he had wreaked vengeance upon them he ordered the booty to be collected, and when he had finished this business he marched in pursuit of the fugitives, and reached the adherents of Satan in a place called Wâdy-l-ahzâb, where he attacked them, and when they became aware of their inability to resist him, they turned their backs upon his army and fled. Ghotyah Qorâry, who has already been several times mentioned, was captured with Qorrah B. Moslamah, who was likewise one of the leaders of the apostates; but Ttolhah, having saved his life by celerity, reached Syria, and took refuge with the Ghasân chiefs, attaining, however, at last the grace of Faith, and being received into the ranks of the professors of it. When Khâled B. Wolyd's mind had been freed from all apprehensions with reference to Ttolhah, he despatched Ghotyah and the other Qorârah prisoners in bonds and shackles to Madinah, where they were brought before Ssiddiq in the worst condition, and as soon as his eyes alighted upon them he addressed them in terms full of reproach They, however, apologized and excused themselves, whereon Ssiddiq accepted their repentance and pardoned their transgressions. It is narrated and recorded in certain histories that, by order of Ssiddiq Akbar, Khâled B. Wolyd first attacked Fujah, who was one of the impure, celebrated, and shameless apostates, and that, when he had punished him, he occupied himself with Ttolhah and his adherents. It is related that after Ttolhah, Salmy, a daughter of Mâlek B. Hudhyqah B. Badr, entertained aspirations to power in her impure mind, and these having engrossed it, she apostatized, she had, however, during the lifetime of his holy and prophetic lordship, been captured in some fight by the army of Islâm, and having been allowed the honour of waiting upon that prince, was ennobled by making profession of the Faith. His lordship, however, had on that occasion predicted to her that she would become an opponent, and

when he departed to the proximity of the Most High, Salmy became an apostate, aspired to authority, and many of the tribes of Ghuttafân, Howâzen, Salym, Asad, and Ttay became her adherents. When this information reached the luminous mind of Khâled B. Alwolyd, he marched with a valiant army and his victory-boding standards against Ṣalmy, who, having been apprised of his approach, prepared herself for war. When the two parties met, a sanguinary battle ensued, after which the adherents of Islâm put their opponents to flight, and a number of champions having surrounded the camel which Salmy was riding, slew it, and sent her also to the abode of perdition, and this victory was greater than some others had been.

Record of Sajâh's Claim to Prophecy, and her Connection with Moseylamah the Liar.

Sajâh, the daughter of Mundhar, was a Christian woman distinguished by her eloquent explanations and rhetorical power. She acknowledged the prophetchip of I'sa [Jesus], and was well acquainted with the tenets of His law; but on account of her ambition to govern and her oratorical attainments, she constantly entertained a desire to lay claim to prophecy and apostleship. While, however, his holy and prophetic lordship was alive, she remained reticent in her aspirations. When that prince stepped from the dunghill of the world into the upper paradise, Sajâh proclaimed her intention, and began to deliver speeches in modulated prose, alleging that they were Divine inspirations and celestial revelations, and a number of the Bani Tha'leb tribe, to which she belonged, became her followers and believed in her claim. Sajâh enjoined her adherents to observe fasts, to pray, to pay voluntary and legal alms, but allowed them to eat pork. When her affairs prospered by means of the Bani Tha'leb, she despatched letters to many Arab tribes, inviting them to accept her religion. Great multitudes placed faith in

her allegations, and girded their loins in her service. When her position had become strong, she wrote a letter to Mâlek B. Nuyrah—who was the chief of the Bani Tamym, but professed Islâm—and invited him to pay her allegiance. Mâlek, being of weak intellect and of little experience, assented, and became an apostate, but, despite all her efforts, Sajâh was unable to bring the Bani Rebâb under the yoke of her obedience, so that when certain Arab chiefs who had assembled in the shadow of her banners had represented to her that their opponents were numerous, they asked her whom they ought first to attempt to subjugate. Sajâh then recited to them some records in modulated prose, telling them that they were a revelation from heaven that they should first attack the Bani Rebâb. The misguided army, having assented to the opinion of Sajâh, marched against the Bani Rebâb, attacked them, and slew many of them After this campaign numerous intelligent and experienced men represented to Sajâh that they had embarked in a great undertaking, and that their opponents were many, wherefore it would be proper first to attack the followers of Muhammad and to destroy the army of Abu Bakr, so that after this important affair had been brought to a successful issue, all the Arabs would willingly or unwillingly obey them. She replied that she was expecting a Divine revelation, and the next night strung together some words in modulated prose to the effect that it would be necessary first to march to Yamâmah in order to arrive at a decision concerning the position of Moseylamah. What she had concocted during the night that she recited in the morning to the officers of the army, which thereon unanimously marched to Yamâmah. Meanwhile Shorahbil B. Hissa and A'kramah B. Abu Jahl had, on the part of the Musalmâns, marched to Yamâmah by order of Abu Bakr to check the wickedness of Moseylamah. Khâled B. Alwolyd had been commanded by Abu Bakr to join them, but when he heard that Sajâh had marched with her army, he considered it proper to wait, and Shorahbil, with A'kramah, having

likewise been apprised of the state of affairs, likewise returned to Mekkah to see how the business between Moseylamah and that lying woman would terminate.

When Moseylamah heard that Sajâh was marching against him with a large army, he sent some of his intimate friends as envoys to her, to learn her intention and to return to him. When the envoys had reached Sajâh, they explained the object of their mission, but she replied that God the Most High and Glorious had sent her a revelation ordering her to attack them. Then she recited to them some of her disconnected words, and dismissed them The envoys immediately left her, and reported to Moseylamah the liar what she had said. Although Moseylamah knew that her claim to prophetship was as false as his own, but fear of the army of Islâm having overpowered his mind, he thought proper to negotiate with her for peace. He therefore again despatched envoys to Sajâh with the message that God the Most High had informed him of His having bestowed one-half of the earth on the Qoraish and the other upon himself, having made him a partner in prophetship with Muhammad; if, however, she would act righteously, the Most High—whose name be glorified—would present her with the half of the Qoraish, and as she was at present receiving celestial revelations, there was no other remedy but to believe and to obey her. He also requested that, as soon as his envoys were honoured by being admitted to her noble presence, she ought to pay him a visit with her courtiers, to enable him to listen to her utterances with an assenting audition, so that he might hear one word from those sweet-spoken lips and remember it till the day of the resurrection When the messengers waited on Sajâh, she received them with many honours, telling them also that the Lord had sent her a revelation in which He had praised them She then recited some unconnected words to them, and after contemplating their handsome persons, beautiful countenances, and listening to their pleasing speeches, she said with reference to them : 'They neither have connection with women, nor drink wine, but they are a congregation

of benefactors who worship their Nourisher and keep the fasts.' The words concerning abstinence from women and wine she had uttered because Moseylamah had prohibited them to his followers, and had told them that according to Divine command some of them should, after an abortion, no more cohabit with their wives. In fine, when the envoys had returned from Sajâh, and recited her modulated prose to him, he said: 'There is no doubt that Sajâh is divinely inspired.' Then he informed his envoys that God the Most High had revealed also to him a Surah with reference to them, and he forthwith despatched to Sajâh what he had composed. She then hastened with ten of her courtiers to pay a visit to Moseylamah, and as soon as he was informed of her approach he ordered a tent to be pitched for her outside of his fort, which he left and met Sajâh, who asked him during the conversation whether God the Most High had sent him a verse on this occasion, and, receiving an affirmative answer, asked what it was. Moseylamah then said: 'God the Most High and Glorious spoke thus: *Seest thou not how thy Lord has acted with steeds? The weakest of them are racing with expert animals running in the desert.*' Sajâh then asked what his Nourisher had sent him after this. Hereon Moseylamah recited to her some modulated prose about the commingling of men with women, which having pleased her, she exclaimed: 'By Allah! thou art an inspired prophet.' When she perceived his inclination towards her, her concupiscence augmented, and, laying aside the veil of modesty, she said: 'We are both prophets; why should we not disregard impediments and commingle with each other like milk and sugar? Thou oughtest to marry me and place the reins of choice into my hands.' Observing that Moseylamah's stature was handsome, the lust of Sajâh was excited; she gave vent to the following expressions: 'I possess the secret of my friend this night; I have to deal with thee this night; my tender body I surrender to thee this night. But I am waiting awhile to receive a Divine inspiration.' When she perceived that the concupiscence of Moseylamah had attained full force, she

began to manifest uneasiness, and, pretending that the time of revelation had set in, began after awhile to recite such modulated prose on the subject of connection as her weak mind had indited to her, asking him to have sexual intercourse with her, whereon embraces and kisses immediately followed, coupled with Moseylamah's enjoyment of her during three days in the *Hadikatu-l-rahman* [Garden of the Merciful], which became afterwards known by the name of *Hadikatu-l-maut* [Garden of Death]. After the expiration of the said period of time Sajâh returned to her own people, where Arab chiefs, such as Mâlek B. Nuyrah, Zurqân B. Badr, U'ttarid B. Alhâjeb, and others who happened to be encamped there, interrogated her concerning her interview with Moseylamah. She replied: 'I found him to be a prophet like myself, and assented by Divine command to marry him.' They asked her what her marriage-gift would be, but when she replied that nothing had been settled on this point they advised her to return to Yamâmah and to demand from Moseylamah a marriage-gift, because it would be a great shame that she, as a prophetess, should obtain none. Accordingly Sajâh left the encampment of her army and, after performing the journey, reached the gate of the fort of Moseylamah, which he had ordered to be closed, and, mounting to the top of it, asked for the reason of her coming. Sajâh then stated her demand, whereon he asked who her Mueddhin was, and she replied that his name was Shith B. Rub'ay. Moseylamah then asked her to call him, and when he came Moseylamah said: 'Proclaim among thy people that Moseylamah the apostle of God has absolved them from holding two prayers, namely, those of the morning and of bedtime, which were consonant with the religion of Muhammad.' Sajâh then returned and brought her army, with which she encamped near the fort of Moseylamah for several days, till he agreed to give her one-half of the date-crop of Yamâmah as a marriage-gift.

It is recorded in chronicles that when the sexual connection of Sajâh with Moseylamah had become known to

the Arab chiefs who followed her, they repented of what they had done, and said to each other: 'We have committed a mistake to come out from our tribes, accepting the religion of this woman and conveying her to the fort of Yamâmah so as to enable Moseylamah to have connection with her. How can we now remedy this affair, and how shall we have the courage to encounter Khâled?' After having consulted with each other the Arab chiefs dispersed, returned to their tribes, took rest in their homes, and sent letters of apology to Abu Bakr. When Sajâh perceived the turn affairs were taking, she departed with four hundred of her intimate adherents to her own home, but according to some traditions she ultimately became adorned with the decoration of the Faith, and was received into the community of the professors of Islâm.

Record of Khâled's Killing Mâlek B Nuyrah.

Mâlek Bin Nuyrah, upon whom the authority of governing a number of Arabs devolved, and who was one of the friends of O'mar, possessed a wife distinguished by her amiability and intelligence all around the country; and Mâlek had, after separating from Sajâh, established himself in the locality of Battâa', where he remained till his life came to an end. The details of these affairs are, that when Abu Bakr took leave of Khâled he instructed him to send spies among the Arab tribes, and not to injure any in which the call to prayers could be heard, but to consider them as professing Islâm, and, on the other hand, he was to invite any tribe in which the call to prayers could not be heard to accept Islâm, and if it refused to comply to attack it with his sharp sword. When Khâled heard that the Arab chiefs, having repented of their allegiance to Sajah, had returned to their tribes, he despatched, according to the injunction of Abu Bakr, scouts in all directions to ascertain the state of affairs. Having sent some to the tribe of Mâlek B Nuyrah in order to ascertain whether it professed Islâm or unbelief, they acted according to the

behest of Khâled, and after their return reported that they had not heard the call to prayers in the tribe of Mâlek B Nuyrah; but Abu Qotâdah, the Anssâri, who had also been with them, bore witness to Khâled that he had heard the call to prayers in that tribe. When a meeting took place between Mâlek and Khâled, it occurred to his mind, every now and then during the conversation, that the man was an apostate, because whenever he spoke about his prophetic lordship—u. w. bl.—he made use of the expression · 'Your man has said so' After these words had been several times used by Mâlek, Khâled raised his head, saying: 'O dog! The prophet was our man, and not yours.' Then he gave in that very meeting the signal to strike off his head.

It is recorded in some chronicles that when Mâlek with some of his people had been captured and brought to Khâled, he retained them as prisoners. When the night set in, the weather happened also to become extremely cold, whereon Khâled, being of a very kind disposition, ordered the watchmen to make arrangements for sheltering the prisoners from the cold. According to the proverb, however, that 'When He willeth a thing, He prepareth the means for effecting it,' the herald shouted something quite different from the injunction, namely, 'The Bani Kenânah have arrived,' which brought on slaughter, because the guards of Mâlek and of his people, although they were more numerous than the Bani Kenânah, grasped their swords as soon as the herald had shouted, and killed all the prisoners. When Khâled was informed of what had taken place, he exclaimed · 'When Allah willeth a thing He bringeth it to pass.' And after Mâlek had been slain Khâled married his widow. In short, when the news of the death of Mâlek, and of Khâled's marriage to his wife, had been reported to O mar, he was much distressed, and informed Abu Bakr that Khâled had slain Mâlek with his people despite the testimony of Abu Qotâdah that Mâlek and his peopl: were professors of Islâm, and that he had not believed the statement. Abu Qotâdah also swore an oath that he would hereafter take no share in any Ghazâ

of which Khâled might be the commander. O'mar then requested Abu Bakr to deprive Khâled of his command, but he replied: 'Do not blame Khâled, and do not expect him to be degraded, because I shall not sheathe the sword which God the Most High has drawn against the infidels.' At last, however, Abu Bakr sent a messenger to Khâled on account of the pertinacity of O'mar, commanding him to give an account of the death of Mâlek. Khâled, therefore, obedient to the behest of the successor of the apostle of God, set out for Madinah, and arriving in the vicinity of the town, sent two gold dinârs by way of a gift to the doorkeeper of Abu Bakr, with the request to admit him to his presence alone in a suitable place without allowing any other person to enter with him; the porter accepted the sum and complied with the request, and this is said to have been the first case of bribery which occurred in Islâm When Khâled B. Alwolyd reached the mosque, which was near the house of Abu Bakr, he met O'mar; but O'mar, who had just come out from the sacred building, drew forth two arrows which he had been carrying on his head according to the usage of Arab champions, from his turban, and broke them, shouting. 'Thou hast slain a Musalmân and hast married his wife! I swear by God that I shall stone thee!' Khâled, imagining that he had incurred the displeasure of Abu Bakr, and would be reproved by him, replied nothing, and both walked together to the house of Abu Bakr, the doorkeeper, however, placing his hand on the breast of O'mar, said 'No one has permission to enter except Khâled.' Hereon O'mar, respecting the abode of the Khalifah, went away, but, clapping his hands, said: 'Alas! the blood of Mâlek has been wantonly shed.' When Khâled entered the hall of Abu Bakr, the latter said: 'Thou hast killed a Moslem and wedded his relict!' Khâled replied: 'O Khalifah of the apostle of Allah, I adjure thee by God to tell me whether thou hast heard the prophet say: "Khâled is the scimitar of God."' Abu Bakr having replied in the affirmative, Khâled continued: 'The scimitar of God strikes no one except an unbeliever

or a hypocrite.' Abu Bakr said: 'Then return immediately to thy work.' Khâled having departed joyfully and pleased from Abu Bakr, perceived O'mar as he sat at the door of the mosque, and said to him: 'Approach me, O son of the son of Omm Abu Shamlah.' It is recorded in the history of Tabari that when Khâled had gone away from Abu Bakr he saw O'mar sitting at the door of the mosque, placed his hand on the hilt of his sword, and said. 'O son of the left hand.' Muhammad B. Jarir Tabari states that Khâled named O'mar as of tho left hand, because he was in the habit of doing that with the left hand which other people did with the right. When O'mar perceived that affairs had taken this turn, he knew that Khâled had excused himself for killing Mâlek, and that Abu Bakr was pleased with him.

Record of the Going of Khâled to Yamâmah and of the Killing of Moseylamah the Liar.

When Abu Bakr was satisfied with Khâled B. Alwolyd, he issued orders to him forthwith to attack Moseylamah the liar, and to make the removal of that wicked fellow his chief aim. Khâled hereon departed from Madinah on the wings of celerity, joined his army after traversing the necessary distance, engaged with all his might in preparations for the campaign, and marched with a number of Mohâjer, Anssâr, and others to Yamâmah. On this Ghazâ he appointed Thâbet B. Qays to command the Anssâr, and ordered both these and the Mohâjer not to act contrary to the advice of Abu Khodayfah B. Ghatyah B. Rabya'h and of Zaid B. Al-Khattâb. On that march Khâled happened to catch sight of a number of men, who, holding the bridles of their horses in their hands, had fallen asleep. They were people of Yamâmah, who had gone in pursuit of a man who had slain one of the great men of Yamâmah and had fled to save his own life. The companions of Khâled took those men prisoners, asked them who they were and where they meant to go. After they had given explanations,

they were taken to Khâled, who asked those misguided men about their religion, but on their replying, 'Let there be one prophet on your part and another on ours,' he gave the signal to strike off their heads. When the turn to be beheaded came to Sâryah B. A'amer and to Mujaa'h, who were grandees of Yamâmah and pillars of the government of Moseylamah, Sâryah said: 'O Khaled, if thou art desirous to acquire supremacy and to obtain the government of the country, spare the life of Mujaa'h.' Accordingly Mujaa'h was respited by the advice of Sâryah, but all the others were beheaded. Khâled B. Alwolyd thereon encamped at Ayâdz, which was one of the villages of Yamâmah, being desirous to engage in hostilities after duly considering the state of affairs, because at that time Moseylamah had become very powerful—on account of the false testimony of Nuhâdu-r-rejâl, who was, according to some chronicles, of the Bani A'fuh—and had collected an army of nearly forty thousand combatants. It is related that Nuhâdu-r-rejâl had during the lifetime of his holy and prophetic lordship come to Madinah, had made a profession of the Faith, and learnt the Surah of 'The Cow' by heart, but when he returned to Yamâmah he troubled the bright law by enrolling himself among the intimate friends of Moseylamah, at whose instigation he proclaimed in various meetings that he had heard Muhammad say that he had constituted Moseylamah his partner in the office of prophet, on account of which false testimony the Bani Hanifah thereon acknowledged the claims to prophecy of Moseylamah and believed him to be veracious. It is related that one of the confidants of Moseylamah having privately questioned him concerning the truth, he confessed to have received in the darkness of the night visits from a man who was telling him that he was a liar and Muhammad truthful It has been accepted as authentic that Nuhâdu-r-rejâl instigated Moseylamah to place his hand on the heads of infants, and to insert his fingers into their mouths, to make their lives prosperous in the Bani Hanifah tribe by the blessing of his hand. Moseylamah acted according to

the advice of that misguiding councillor; but every infant whom his unhallowed hand had touched on the head became bald from disease, and every child whose palate had been defiled by his ill-boding fingers became a stammerer, and these facts were made public after Moseylamah had perished.

After Khâled had terminated his campaign against Sajâh, he cast the anchor of his sojourn for some time in the country of Battâa', waiting for directions from Abu Bakr. Meanwhile the adherents of Moseylamah were day by day getting more numerous, and he encouraged them, saying that he should like to know why the Qoraish ought to be considered more worthy of supremacy than themselves, as they excelled them neither in military appliances, nor in numbers, nor in power, nor in courage; moreover, their town was more cultivated and their wealth greater than that of the Qoraish He also said 'Whenever I desire, Jebrâil comes down to me and honours me with a Divine revelation, in the same manner as he descends to Muhammad and brings him a message. Nuhâdu r-rejâl and Muhakkam B. Alttofayl, both well-known chiefs of Yamâmah, are bearing testimony that Muhammad B A'bdullah acknowledges me to be his partner in the office of prophecy, and agrees to this arrangement.' Then a crowd of nobles of the Bani Hanifah paid a visit to those two old sinners, and said: 'Moseylamah alleges that he is a prophet, and says that you are witnesses to the acknowledgment of his claim by the tongue of Muhammad, so that at present the truth or falsehood of this assertion will depend upon what you will say.' They replied · 'Moseylamah is speaking the truth, and we are witnesses to it' On account of this testimony the simple and the gentle of that country hastened to various meetings to make profession of this Faith, Moseylamah encouraging them till the time when Khâled approached the country of those impure men with his valiant army.

When the the people of Yamâmah had been apprised of the arrival of Khâled B. Alwolyd, Muhakkam B. Alttofayl

convoked the most prominent men of that country and said to them: 'O ye people, be aware that Khâled intends to wage war against your country with warriors who make no account of their dear lives nor of death in order to gain Divine approbation and eternal life.' The nobles of Yamâmah replied: 'We shall on the day of battle so draw out our hands from the sleeve of bravery that Khâled will soon discover the grievous mistake he has committed; but if the grasp of fate spares him and he succeeds in escaping we shall pursue him till he retraces his steps to Madinah.' Then Mukakkam B. Alttofayl replied: 'Well done; you are good men!' When Khâled B. Alwolyd arrived in Madinah, he set apart two hundred men from his army, and said to them: 'Enter this country without fear or apprehension, and capture any inhabitants you can.' They obeyed, and as they were roaming about they happened to meet a number of people whose chief was Mujaa'h B. Amrân, and there was with him also another man of the nobles of Yamâmah, Amâryah B. A'amer by name. The Musalmâns asked them: 'Who are you?' They replied: 'We are of the Bani Hanifah.' The professors of Islâm continued: 'May your eyes be darkened, O ye foes of God!' Then they made all of them prisoners and conveyed them to Khâled, who asked them: 'What is your belief about Moseylamah?' They said: 'Our spokesman is Mujaa'h.' Then he turned to Mujaa'h, who replied: 'We went to Madinah in the lifetime of his holy and prophetic lordship, upon whom we had the felicity of attending, and made profession of the Faith, entering into a covenant. Dreading, however, to jeopardize our property and families, we assented to the claims of this liar, and never ventured to make overt resistance to him.' Amâryah then continued: 'O Amir, if it be thy intention to subjugate Yamâmah, thou must make me and Mujaa'h thy councillors in the administration.' Khâled then gave these two individuals in charge of their guard, and ordered all the other prisoners to be killed. Then he continued to march quickly till he halted in a place called Ghafar; Moseylamah having been

apprised of the state of affairs, likewise made haste to leave his fort, and marched till he encamped opposite to the army of Khâled. The next day he drew out his forces in lines, appointing experienced warriors to command the right and the left flank of the army, he himself taking his position in the centre with a number of men in whom he trusted. When Khâled had taken cognizance of the readiness and boldness of his opponent, he sent Zaid B. Alkhattâb to take charge of the right and Zaid B. Alkhamâr of the left flank. Thereon champions of both sides issued from their lines and, shouting, rushed against each other, and the first man of the opponents slain was Nuhâdu-r-rejâl, whom Zaid B. Alkhattâb despatched with his sword to the regions of perdition, and it is reported in some traditions that the first lucky man who issued from the ranks of the Musalmâns was Khâled B. Alwolyd himself He scattered the fire of his Yemani sword, and, having shed much blood of the foes of the religion, again resumed his position after a considerable time; let it, however, not remain unknown that this assertion is contrary to the statement of Tabari. After Khâled B. Alwolyd, O'mmâr B Yaser sallied forth, challenging antagonists to duelling, in which he despatched a number of foes to the infernal regions; one of them, however, succeeded in slashing off the skin of his head and his ear: he slew him, nevertheless, and then returned to his party, despite so grievous a wound. Then Hâreth B. Alheshâm Al-Makhzûmi rushed against the right flank like a famished wolf, and after slaying a number of enemies or wounding them went back to his own post. In that battle Zaid B. Alkhattâb threw five of his antagonists from their saddles to the ground, and having at last himself been mortally wounded, departed to the gardens of paradise. On that day also Sâlem, the freed man of Abu Khodaifah, obtained the honour of martyrdom. In short, nearly three hundred of the defenders of Islâm tasted the potion of martyrdom. It is said that from the promulgation of Islâm till that time so great a battle had not been fought; and when some foresighted men had struck the drum of

retreat despondency overcame the Musalmâns, so that many of them left the battlefield, whereon the enemies rushed into the camp of Khâled, and having hacked his tent to pieces with their swords, entered it with the intention to tear asunder the limbs of Omm Tamym, whom he had married after killing Mâlek B. Nuyrah. Mujaa'h, however, who had been kept prisoner in the same tent, hindered them, saying · 'I have never experienced anything but great mercy and kindness from this woman.' Meanwhile, Khâled attacked the intruders with the scimitar of vengeance, prostrating them on the ground of misery, and the carnage lasted till night, so that the blood-quaffing planet Mars was astonished at the atrocity of this contest. Every man in both armies, apprehending a night attack and a renewal of the battle in the morning, held the bridle of his charger in his hand, taking no rest till dawn.

I made a rampart of the lashes of my eyes
That neither thy image may leave, nor sleep enter them

In the morning, when the sovereign of the fourth climate rose with his golden scimitar from the eastern horizon, raising his standard to conquer the realm of the east, the first man who appeared on the battle-ground was Muhakkam B. Alttofayl, the commander-in-chief of Moseylamah. When Muhakkam was thus standing in front of the adherents of Islâm, he recited verses in the Rajaz measure, expatiating on the virtues, peculiarities and perfections of Moseylamah. Seeing this, Thâbet B. Qays, the Anssâri, who had no peer in bravery, hastened to encounter Muhakkam, assaulted him repeatedly, and at last pierced him with his lance, tearing up the belt. Many chroniclers, however, allege that Muhakkam was slain either by Ebn Mâlek or by A'bdu-r-rahmin B. Abu Bakr after the army of Moseylamah had fled and entered the Hadikatu-l-maut [Garden of Death]. It will soon appear from the context that the author of these pages adduces contradictory statements so that envious persons who are on the watch for errors and finding deficiencies may not blame him, and the members

of the exalted assembly of his patron may not charge him with having failed to record various traditions. But let us return to our narrative. The narrator of the first tradition states that after having slain Muhakkam, Thâbet B. Qays capered right and left about the battlefield jeopardizing his life till he lost it. After he had attained martyrdom Habbâb B Thâbet Ala'wwâm hastened to the contest, but after striving for awhile departed to the gardens of Eden. Thereon Ebn Ghâreb, who will soon be again mentioned, assaulted the lives of the unbelievers and sent many of them to the abode of perdition with his bright scimitar, but again returned safely to his own post after his brave exploits. The opponents being aggrieved by this manœuvre, made an onslaught upon the Musalmâns, and succeeded in checking the advance of the army. Khâled, however, remained fixed in his place, and shouted: 'O Musalmâns, fear God, and think of the day of requital, lest the shame of having fled might defile the skirts of your honour, and Abu Bakr could no longer meet you with a glance of approbation. If you follow the religion of Muhammad, you must not yield your position to the foe.' The professors of Islâm who had heard the words of Khâled now perceived it would be best for the advantage of the religion and the world again to renew the strife, and shouting, 'To return is more laudable'' they repeatedly assailed the enemies and dismayed them It is said that when the fire of the contest was ablaze one of those fearless warriors attacked Abu Dujjânah, but the accursed fellow was forthwith cut in twain by him, whereon another fleet rider of those obstinate caitiffs attempted to wreak vengeance, and turned towards Abu Dujjânah, but was at the sight of that lion of bravery so overpowered by fright that he hastened back towards his lines, and Abu Dujjânah ceased not to pursue him till he had maimed both his legs Then Abu Dujjânah galloped about slaying champions in every direction, and shouting to encourage the Musalmâns: 'Friends, pay your dues to valour; do not flee, but disperse these malefactors who are so conceited on account of their numbers.' A number of the

army of Islâm, whose hearts were bent on flight, having heard these words, were emboldened to attack the hypocrites, who on their part likewise fought bravely. In short, the champions of each side had more than twenty times issued from their lines and again returned to them. Râfi' B. Khudia', the Anssâri, says that on the day when he witnessed this fighting of the Bani Hanifah the meaning of the verse 'Ye shall be called forth against a mighty and a warlike nation'[3] became evident, and there was great probability that the enemies would by their valour and alacrity inflict a shameful defeat upon the Musalmâns which could not be remedied; by the aid of the Lord of lords, however, some who had been present at the battles of Ohod and of the Confederates, as well as other great companions [of the prophet], being determined to defeat and eradicate those accursed caitiffs, unanimously assailed them as if prepared to sacrifice their own lives, whereon the zephyr of Divine aid began to waft upon the standards of Islâm, and those of the unbelievers were turned upside down, so that numberless adherents of Moseylamah were slain, the remnant of them taking refuge in the garden named Hadikatu-l-rahman. There is a tradition that when Khâled B. Alwolyd perceived that some of the companions of the apostle were being killed, he averred that he had never witnessed a more atrocious and dangerous battle than this; but as he knew that the dust raised could not be laid except by shedding the blood of Moseylamah, he shouted, inciting the victory-boding army to renew the contest, whereon the combatants, ready to sacrifice their lives, drew forth the scimitars of vengeance from their scabbards, and the opponents, unable to resist their onslaught, retreated from the battlefield. When Muhakkam B. Alttofayl had perceived the marks of feebleness upon the pages of the demeanour of those who are travelling on the road to Jahannum [Gehenna—hell], he began to lament, urging them to take refuge in the Hadikat, whereon all the wicked fellows who had not been injured by swords followed

[3] Qurân, ch. xlviii., part of v. 16.

Moseylamah to that locality and closed its gate, which, however, having been opened by Uns B. Mâlek, the Musalmâns entered.

It is related as an authentic fact that whenever Irah, the brother of Uns B. Mâlek, heard the beginning of an affray, and the sounds of clashing arms struck his ears, he became subject to a fit of trembling, whereon he urinated, fell asleep, and people sat around him, but as soon as he awoke from his trance he threw himself like a furious lion into the mêlée and fought. He was in this condition also on the present occasion, and when he had done urinating perceived rivers of blood flowing on the battlefield. When the foes of the religion had entered the Hadikat, barring its gate, Irah exclaimed: 'O ye Musalmâns, throw me into the Hadikat and perhaps I shall be able to open the gate.' This having been done, he engaged with several friends in fighting till other Musalmâns succeeded in opening the door, whereon the oven of the conflict again became heated, and the victorious army caused nearly ten thousand men to surrender their lives to the owner of hell. Among the slain was Muhakkam B. Alttofayl, who, while he was inciting his people to fight, was struck by an arrow which A'bdu-r-rahman B. Abu Bakr had shot at him so that he expired. On that occasion also Moseylamah was slain, whereon the locality became known by the name of Hadikatu-l-maut [Garden of Death].

It is related that Wahshy [the freed slave] said: 'Having, some time after killing Hamzah [the uncle of the prophet], returned to Madinah, I was made happy by waiting on the apostle of Allah and making profession of the Faith; but as the sight of me was distasteful to his lordship, I spent some time in grief, and forbore from approaching him. When the apostle of Allah had departed from the mansion of frailty to the upper paradise, and the army of Islâm marched to Yamâmah, I took up my javelin, which I had thrown aside, and followed the combatants till we arrived in that country. On the occasion when the antagonists had been routed, and had found an asylum in the Hadikat,

I likewise entered that locality in the train of the Musalmâns, and observed in the contest Moseylamah standing with a drawn sword, and inciting the men to fight. When my eyes alighted upon that accursed fellow, I approached him, and he likewise advanced towards me. At that moment, also, Ebn A'm O'mmârah, the Anssâri, came from another direction, and turned towards Moseylâmah, whereon I balanced my javelin, projected it at that liar, and struck him in a tender spot. Ebn A'm O'mmârah also brought his sword down upon him, and it is not hidden from God the Most High that no other men have slain Moseylamah except we two; and praised be Divine predestination, that after I had in the time of ignorance slain one who was the best of men after the apostle of Allah—namely, Hamzah—I also killed in the time of Islâm the worst of men—namely, Moseylamah.'

After Moseylamah had departed to the infernal regions, the Bani Hanifah made a breach in the wall of the Hadikat and fled out from it All historians agree that seventy thousand [sic] of the opponents without, and seventy thousand [sic] within the Hadikat, departed on the path of annihilation—It is related that a man of Yamâmah, having cast a glance at the body of Moseylamah, said: 'I testify that thou art one of the prophets, but of the miserable ones.'—One of the most prominent Musâlmans slain in this conflict was E'bâd B Bashir, the Anssâri, who had fought in the battle of Bedr; and some chroniclers consider also Abu Dujjânah, the Anssâri, to have been one of the martyrs of Yamâmah, whilst others assert that he was [afterwards] present at the battle of Ssafyn, under the command of A'li, the Amir of the true believers.—According to the first tradition, one thousand two hundred men, three hundred and fifty of whom were Anssâr and Mohâjer, attained the high dignity of martyrdom in the battle of Yamâmah. In this terrible catastrophe also numerous memorizers and readers of the Qurân perished; and it may be adduced, in confirmation of this statement, that when Abu Bakr received this news, he apprehended that

in course of time the words of the Lord Most High might gradually be blotted out from the minds of the people, and ordered the Qurân to be published in the form in which it has remained current down to the present time.

When Khâled B. Alwolyd had learnt for a certainty that Moseylamah had departed to hell, he desired to identify his corpse, therefore he summoned Mujâa'h, and walked about with him among the slain. Whilst thus searching, *Khâled's attention was arrested by a very pleasing* and corpulent body, and he asked Mujâa'h whether it was not that of his master He replied in the negative, but added that it was the corpse of one far more excellent—namely, Muhakkam B Alttofayl. At last they found a man of yellow complexion and weak appearance, whereon Mujâa'h said · 'This is Moseylamah, who has done good neither to himself nor to us' Khâled replied: 'Woe betide you, as you have abandoned the religion of Islâm for this despicable fellow, and fallen into such a calamity and misery!' Mujâa'h continued: 'O Amir, it will be proper for thee to make peace with the Bani Hanifah, because the men who have waged war against you were hasty and precipitate, but this fort is yet replete with warriors.' While Khâled was meditating upon this suggestion, Mujâa'h despatched a secret message to the garrison of the fort to man the ramparts, and that not only the combatants, but also the women, must appear with drawn swords and bucklers; which having been done, Khâled looked at the scene, and took into consideration that as most of his people were wounded, it would be difficult to lay siege to the place. He therefore determined to conclude peace, and asked Mujâa'h to propose the conditions of it Mujâa'h said: '*I am acquainted with the circumstances of the people* of this fort, and I know that they will agree to surrender to you all their silver and gold, with their arms, one-third of their cattle, and one-half of their servants and slaves, if you grant them peace.' Khâled having agreed to this condition, Mujâa'h departed to the fort which was their greatest citadel; and beholding on the rampart a woman

lamenting for those who had been slain in the contest, he said to her: 'Be quiet! I have beguiled Khâled to make peace. Now, tell all the women to remain at their posts till the negotiations for peace have been terminated.' Mujâa'h then returned, and said to Khâled: 'The people of the fort are at variance with me concerning the slaves, of whom they are to surrender one-half; but if thou wilt accept one-fourth, they will agree to a treaty of peace, or else remain enemies' Khâled, believing the words of Mujâah, assented; but the gate of the place having been opened, he saw on entering it no other garrison besides women and children He thereon reproached Mujâa'h for having deceived him and uttered lies; but he excused himself, stating that as the majority of his people had been destroyed, he had no other means but this to save the lives of those whom the sword had spared.

Account of the Marriage of Khâled B. Alwolyd to the Daughter of Mujâa'h after the Conquest of Yamâmah.

When peace had been concluded, as narrated above, Khâled sued for the hand of the daughter of Mujâa'h; but the latter replied 'O Amir, what occasion can there be at the present time for weddings and rejoicings, when a corpse is lying in every one of our houses?' Khâled rejoined. 'There is no help for this.' Khâled was then informed by Mujâa'h that his daughter would lay claim to a marriage-gift of one thousand dirhems, whereon Khâled not only agreed to pay this amount, but forthwith married the daughter of Mujâa'h, and honoured her relatives exceedingly, not regarding the Anssâr and Mohâjer chiefs as equal to them. The noble companions [of the prophet] felt aggrieved by these proceedings, and Hasân B. Thâbet sent a letter of the following purport to Abu Bakr: 'Allowest thou, who art the successor of the apostle of God, that while the blood on the corpses of the martyrs is not yet dry, Khâled should with his new bride quietly

repose in the apartment of joy, whilst the limbs of our friends are up to this time lying scattered about the desert? He is reposing on couches of silk and of brocade, honouring and respecting the relatives of his wife, whom he greets with the utmost cordiality! Had the Bani Hanifah shed the gore even of only one of our companions, no man of intelligence would consider it proper that a monotheist should enter into friendly and matrimonial relations with those people. If thou, who art righteous, deemest the act of Khâled to have been suitable, then inform us, that we may likewise deem it to be such with approbation and gratitude, because thy assent will be followed by ours; or else awaken him, because he is sleeping the sleep of indolence.' When Abu Bakr had listened to the reading of Hasan's letter he became angry, and addressed O'mar as follows: 'Perceivest thou how Khâled has fallen into the bondage of lust, and how little he cares for the calamity which has befallen the adherents of Islâm?' O'mar replied: 'We have received news that Khâled is very distressed and melancholy.' Others, however, have narrated that when the information about the martyrdom of Zaid B Alkhattâb, with other companions, and the marriage of Khâled, had been brought to the notice of O'mar, he became very excited, and asked that Khâled should be deprived of his command. Whereon Abu Bakr, although not complying with this request, sent him an angry letter to the following effect: 'O Khâled, thou art perpetually engaged in marrying and commingling with women, so that lust has overpowered thy modesty, and thou carest not for the catastrophe of twelve hundred Musalmâns, seven hundred of whom were readers of the Qurân. Thou hast neither honoured nor honourest the friends of the prophet according to their deserts, and hast added these acts to thy murder of Mâlek B. Nuyrah! A curse be on thee and upon thy base dealings, whereby thou hast incurred the blame of the Bani Makhzum! Farewell.' When the letter of Abu Bakr reached Khâled, and he had been apprised of its contents, he burst out

laughing, and said: 'These are the words of O'mar, about which Abu Bakr knows nothing.'

When Khâled had terminated his business in Yamâmah, he remained in that country, waiting for the orders Zebeyr might bring him from the seat of the Khalifate. It is recorded in chronicles that his holy and prophetic lordship had said to A'li the Commander of the Faithful 'A girl of the Bani Hanifah will fall into thy possession, and when she bears thee a son, call him by my name, and give him my surname.' When the said girl was brought to Madinah among the prisoners, Abu Bakr surrendered her to A'li Murtadza—u w bl - and she bore him a son, whose name was Muhammad Hanifah.

It is known for a certainty that a short while after the subjugation of Yamâmah, Khâled was ordered to march with the army under his command to Arabian E'râq, and there to engage with the enemies of the religion in peaceable and warlike affairs. Khâled obeyed, and raised there the standards of the brilliant religion, but was afterwards commanded to pass into Syria to assume the government and command the invasion, without being one moment remiss in the energetic discharge of his duty. When these orders reached Khâled, he said: 'O'mar was unwilling that the residence of the kings of Persia should by my efforts fall into the grasp of the adherents of Islâm, wherefore he implored Abu Bakr to despatch me to Syria' Although he thought this command to be odious, he obeyed the behests of the Khalifah, marched with his brave forces to that country, and conquered forts and towns, seeking the approbation of good, and destroying wicked people.

According to the ancient texts, it is recorded that in the beginning of his Khalifate Abu Bakr had given eleven standards to eleven commanders noted for bravery and intelligence, and had despatched them to various countries to invite apostates who had swerved from the right path by means of promises and threats to accept the religion, but in case of refusal to use the bright scimitar and the life-ravishing spear for reducing them to submission. Thus

he had sent Khâled B. Alwolyd to attack Ttolhah and other apostates, as has been narrated. He had despatched E'kramah B. Abu Jahl to the boundaries of Yamâmah, but he returned, as has been mentioned in these pages. He appointed Mohâjer B. Ommyah to march to Yemen; ordered Khâled B. Sa'yd B. Ala'ass to go to the eastern portions of Syria, A'mru B. A'amer he selected to depart with troops for governing the Qodzaa'h and some other tribes who had become dispersed in various deserts. Hodhayfah B. Muhassin he despatched to the region of A'rfajah; Hozaymah in the direction of Mohrah, Sowyd B. Muqaran towards Tehâmah, and A'lâ Hadzramy to Bahrayn. In this manner the Amirs of exalted dignity acted according to the orders received, brought the necks of recalcitrant Arabs under the yoke of subjection, gained booty, and realized the legal alms, sending the shares pertaining to the public treasury in Madinah, and spending the remainder of the animate and inanimate acquisitions according to the injunction of the law to defray the necessary expenses. Thus the hostilities and conflicts of the surrounding countries were appeased in a short time, some of the opponents were slain, whilst others dispersed, whilst some professed obedience, but whoever desires to peruse detailed accounts of these affairs must have recourse to extensive works, because nothing more than what has been already recorded in this abridgment can be recorded therein, and now the musky reed will engage in jotting down the account of the homage to O'mar, and briefly recording the Ghazâs which have taken place in his time.

The Death of Abu Bakr and Homage to O'mar.

When two years and three months of the Khalifate of Abu Bakr had elapsed, he fell sick in the fourth, and ordered O'mar B. Alkhattâb to be the Emâm [*i.e.*, leader] in the five [daily] prayers of the companions. When his malady increased, and he despaired of life, he ordered a document to be composed on the successorship, and appointed a man to make it known to the people. He

took that paper [or, rather, papyrus] to the mosque of his lordship the apostle, in which blessed place the low and the noble assembled. Then he said: 'O ye congregation of Musalmâns, the Khalifah [*i.e.*, successor] of the apostle of the Lord of the denizens of both worlds [the visible and invisible] has written something on a paper and ordered you to consider it! Will you listen to his words with the audition of acquiescence, and act according to his behests or not? The Mohâjer and Anssâr replied: 'We all follow and obey him! Read out the contents of the writing.' The man thereon drew out the paper, and said · 'On this page is written: I have made O'mar your governor and [my] Khalifah [*i.e.*, successor]; you are to obey him, and not to transgress his commands.' Some of those present in the assembly hereon said, 'We hear and obey', others, however, remained silent, saying neither yea nor nay. Of these latter was Ttolhah B. A'bdullah, who afterwards went to Abu Bakr, and said: 'I have been informed that thou hast placed the reins of the Khalifate into the hands of O'mar, not caring for the consequences of such a step.' Abu Bakr answered: 'Perhaps thou considerest him unworthy of the post, but I have fully investigated the matter, and assert that he is worthy thereof.' Ttolhah replied: 'O'mar is a rude and ill-humoured man! It is well known how the people have been aggrieved by him during thy lifetime, but if—which Allah forbid—thou departest to the mansion of eternity, and we are deprived of the sight of thy soul-refreshing person, it may be conjectured what his demeanour towards us will be. Thou wilt undoubtedly be asked in the next world how thou hast provided for the affairs of the subjects, and whom thou hast appointed to be their governor and Khalifah.' Hearing these words of Ttolhah, Abu Bakr was displeased, and answered him, only after a long pause, as follows: 'O Ttolhah, thou who threatenest me with the disapprobation and wrath of God the Most High and Glorious, and art concerning thyself with the terror and calamity of death, be aware that when I reach my original abode and

the Eternal Sovereign asks me how I have left the people and whom I have appointed over the subjects, I shall reply: "I have made the best of men Khalifah over Thy worshippers, and have appointed the most abstemious individual to be the governor of Thy servants."' Then Abu Bakr called O'thmân, and dictated to him his last will, as follows: 'In the name of Allah the merciful, the clement! This is the last will of Abu Bakr, which he indites at the close of his career, to the effect that he has appointed O'mar B. Alkhattâb to be the Khalifah over the people of Muhammad the elect. If he travels on the path of justice, righteousness and honesty, taking truth and goodness for his motto, as I presume he intends to do, all will be well; if, on the contrary, he changes his character —is remiss in the government of the people, gives way to oppression and injustice—his wickedness will pursue him till the day of the resurrection, on which he will have to account for it, *and they who act unjustly shall know hereafter with what treatment they shall be treated.*'[4] Then he called O'mar and uttered pleasant words concerning his investiture with the Khalifate, at the same time adorning his ears with the precious pearls of salutary advice. When O'mar had understood for what purpose he had been summoned, he begged to be excused from accepting so important a post, saying to Abu Bakr: 'I stand not in need of the Khalifate, but the Khalifate stands in need of one like thee! Thus the throne [*masnad*] of the Khalifate will remain adorned as if thou wert still thereon, and its pomp and glory will increase.'

With reference to this subject, a statement is on record that when Abu Bakr saw that the time of his departure was at hand he gave a paper bearing his signet to one of his confidants, sending him to the nobles of the Mohâjer and Anssâr with the message that every loyal and obedient Musalmân was to pay homage to the man whose name was written on the said paper. The companions [of the prophet] all assented to this injunction, and when the turn of A'li B.

[4] Qurân, ch. xxvi., part of last verse.

Abu Ttâleb the victorious lion of Allah came, he exclaimed: 'I pay homage to whoever is mentioned therein, even if O'mar himself has been the writer of the document.' Some intelligent men, however, are of opinion that these words are not void of improbability.

Some U'lamâ, who were historians—A. h. m. o. t.—have a tradition of Aslam, the freed slave of O'mar, to the effect that O'thmân B. O'ffan being present when the disease of Abu Bakr had become violent, he told him to write the words, 'The Khalifah after Abu Bakr'; but Abu Bakr having at that moment become unconscious, O'thmân waited awhile, and then added the words, 'is to be O'mar.' When Abu Bakr had recovered his consciousness he asked for the paper, he saw the name of O'mar on it, and asked, 'Who has written this name?' O'thman having replied that he had done so, Abu Bakr continued: 'May Allah have mercy on thee and reward thee well! If thou hadst written also thine own name, there would have been no occasion for objections.' A'li the Commander of the Faithful then said 'We shall accept no one except O'mar to be Khalifah.' Abu Bakr hereon expressed his best wishes for A'li, praised him, and addressed him as follows: 'We are all officials, but thou art the prince, the Pâdshâh, and the Amir. We are all stars on the firmament of the religion, but thou art the luminous full moon.' Then he said: 'I have appointed O'mar to be your governor and Khalifah; no one of you is to withdraw his foot from the circle of obedience to him or to demur to his commands, which deserve to be executed, because he will administer the government skilfully and arrange your affairs perfectly.'

It is said that at the time when Abu Bakr made his last will the notables of the period had assembled near his bed-side, and imagined that he would, for the sake of consanguinity, appoint to the throne of the Khalifate Ttolhah, who himself also entertained that ambition. In that assembly Ttolhah and those who disapproved of the successorship of O'mar spoke thus: 'O Khalifah of the apostle of God, decide this important matter with delibera-

tion, because on the day of the resurrection Khalifahs will be examined concerning the affairs of their subjects.' A'li said: 'O Ttolhah, we shall obey no one except O'mar. I swear by God that I know him to be the only man able to bear this heavy load!' Then he enumerated his good qualities, and, turning to Abu Bakr, said: 'O Khalifah of the apostle of God, what you approve of we also approve of. It is patent to thy contemporaries that thou hast spent thy life in the handsomest manner, and hast always looked with a merciful eye upon the affairs of the nation. May God the Most High reward thee well, and distinguish thee by His pardon!'

A'ayshah says: 'When the companions [of the prophet] had departed, we came out from the inner apartment and put him to sleep. While he was thus between wakefulness and sleep he heard some disturbance near the door of the house. He opened his eyes, and said to his son: "See who is on the premises, and what all this noise is about." My brother went out, and returned saying: "There are some professors of Islâm and friends of the apostle who desire to be honoured by being admitted to a last interview." Abu Bakr having assented, they entered, and he asked them for the reason of their congregating. They replied: "We have heard that thou hast deemed O'mar worthy of the Khalifate, and hast appointed him to govern us, but he is a man very prone to anger and speaks harshly, whereas an administration cannot prosper without kindness and harmony. What answer wilt thou give on the day of the resurrection, which is the day of reckoning, and what excuse wilt thou offer to the Lord of lords? What argument wilt thou adduce when thou art questioned and reproved on this point?"' A'ayshah continues: 'Abu Bakr became so incensed with anger at these words that I have never seen him in such a condition; but after his ebullition of wrath had subsided he exclaimed: "You threaten me with the displeasure of the Nourisher of mankind, but if He asks me to-morrow into whose hands I have surrendered the affairs of government, I shall say: I have appointed the best individual of

the nation and the most pious of mankind in existence at that time to be the governor and Khalifah over Thy servants. I have given this dignity to a man who prefers Thy approbation to that of the people, and who will never, for the sake of obtaining it, cease to covet Thine."' It is said that Abu Bakr, not being satisfied with these words, further enumerated so many of the good qualities of O'mar that all present lauded him and gladly accepted the last will of Abu Bakr, assenting to the Khalifate of O'mar. They had been, as it were, sparks of fire, the heat of which was extinguished by the aqueous words of Abu Bakr, so that they were full of praise for O'mar, and returned to their homes. When the people had left Abu Bakr, he called O'mar, whom he instructed and admonished, whereon he continued. 'O'mar, if thou actest according to my injunctions, thou wilt love nothing more than death; but if thou actest contrary to them, thou wilt hate nothing more than death, and thou wilt be unable to overcome the terror of it.' Then O'mar rose and departed from the chamber of Abu Bakr with eyes full of tears. That very night Abu Bakr surrendered his life to the grasper of souls, carrying away the merits of his acts from the abode of perishableness. It is narrated in some chronicles that when the malady of Abu Bakr had overwhelmed him, he said to A'ayshah: 'My little daughter, thy father is burdened with some debts; wilt thou deliver his neck from them or not?' She said 'Why should I not do so?' Then he continued· 'Daughter, death is at hand; nothing of life remains. When the event inevitable to all mortals takes place, and I have tasted the beverage of death, you are, after having done preparing and shrouding my body, to deposit it near the mausoleum of the lord and refuge of apostleship, and to say, "Abu Bakr, the friend of the apostle of Allah, is at the door and craves admittance." If you obtain permission, you are to bury me in the garden of the illustrious tomb, and the sign of permission will be the opening of the door of the mausoleum without being touched by anyone. If, however, you do not obtain per-

mission, bury me in the Baqii' cemetery.' Thereon he uttered the words: '*We belong to Allah, and unto Him shall we surely return*'[5] These words he had pronounced on a Sunday, and the next day he departed to the proximity of the Lord of both worlds. When the report of his death spread, great confusion took place in the city of Madinah; the lamentations were great, and the sounds of the wailing population reached the zenith of the sky. When the shrouding and prayers had terminated, the people acted as they had been told, and the bier having been conveyed near to the resting-place of the lord of apostleship, the door of the mausoleum [spontaneously] opened, whereon the blessed body was deposited by the side of the perfumed resting-place of the prince of both mansions, and interred there. It is said that O'mar, O'thmân, and A'bdu-r-rahman the son of Abu Bakr entered the grave, buried the corpse, and, having made the surface of the spot smooth, poured water thereon.

It is said that Abu Bakr had died of some poisoned food brought to him by a Jew, he having eaten of it with Hâreth B. Kaldah; both of them died, however, only after the expiration of one year. According to some traditions, the last words spoken by Abu Bakr were the following: 'Cause me to die a Moslem, and join me to the pious.' In the versified abridgment of Ebn Jauzy, the following statement occurs [in Arabic]: 'The Khalifate of Abu Bakr amounted to two years and four months less four nights.' In the 'Ghoniah' it is said [also in Arabic] 'The period of his Khalifate amounted to two years and thirteen nights or ten nights. His birth took place three years after the year of the elephant.'[6] The name of Abu Bakr was A'bdullah B. O'thmân, whose cognomen was Abu Quhâfah. His holy and prophetic lordship had once said to Abu Bakr, 'Thou art liberated from hell fire,' and he was also called *A'tyq*. It is known for a certainty that Abu Bakr was the most abstemious and humble of the adherents of the people of Muhammad. While he was Khalifah he dressed in woollen

[5] Qurân, ch. ii., latter half of verse 151. [6] *I.e.*, A.D. 573.

clothes, whereas many Arab magnates and princes of Yemen who paid him visits arrived with costly ornaments and wore gold embroidered garments; but when they beheld his ascetic clothing, humility, and dignified presence, they considered it suitable to abandon their ornaments and pomp, and to imitate him. This statement is confirmed by the fact that Dhu-l-Kalagh, the Hemyarite, who was at that time the ruler of the Hemyarites, arrived in Madinah with some of his tribe, his relatives and one thousand of his slaves. He wore elegant clothes, and had a costly diadem on his head; but when he beheld Abu Bakr's mode of life and simplicity of demeanour, he relinquished all his pomp and ornaments. He went so far that his relatives saw him one day in Madinah walking about with the hide of a sheep thrown over his shoulder. They said: 'O Mâlek, thou hast put us to shame, and made us despicable among the Arabs! What costume is this which thou hast donned?' He replied. 'Your desire is that I should be in Islâm the same vain-glorious prince I was in the time of ignorance! By no manner of means! Let it be known to you that perfect obedience to God is not attainable except by means of humility such as to obtain the approbation of God.'

The virtues and laudable qualities of Abu Bakr are more numerous than the writing reed could enumerate, it will, however, record some expressions of A'li the Commander of the Faithful, which he uttered after the demise but before the interment of Abu Bakr, with his eloquent and pearl-shedding tongue, in the assembly of the Mohâjer and Anssâr, as follows, according to the reports of intelligent men: 'He excelled everyone in correctness of speech, his intellect was more penetrating than that of others; he was more conversant with the transaction of business and skilled in negotiations, taking upon himself duties as light which others considered burdensome, and speedily arranging affairs in which others were tardy. He was a true friend, faithful companion, and having chosen to associate with the apostle of Allah, spent everything he possessed to serve him. He attained such proficiency and certainty in the

religion that his arguments were cogent, and the light of his foresight was marvellous. His heart being void of calumny and hypocrisy, the strong and the weak were equal in his sight when deciding matters of the religious law, and the nearer the contact of anyone was with him, the farther was the possibility of opposing him. He was a Khalifah towards whom no one manifested disloyalty. He was eloquent, but sparing of words when circumstances required it, although even then every word he uttered was salutary, thus confirming the statement of the apostle who had said · "Abu Bakr is of weak body, but strong in his duty to Allah. He is humble and despicable in his own opinion, but great in the sight of Allah, and honoured by the believers. In his behaviour nobody can detect an inclination to calumniate persons or an occasion to be calumniated, as he was a true and sincere friend. His commands were wise and brief, his transactions meek and foresighted, his decisions resolute and learned." O Khalifah of the apostle of God, thou art more exalted than that we could deplore thy death according to thy merits! Not only the dwellers on earth feel the calamity of thy loss, but even the denizens of the celestial spheres sympathize with us. *We belong to Allah, and unto him we shall return.* I swear by God that no loss has been more grievous to the professors of Islâm after that of the apostle of Allah than that of thee, and that none more deplorable will take place, nor will there be any mourning harder to bear than the present one; but when the arrow of fate has been discharged, refuge can be obtained only under the shield of resignation. May God the Most High have mercy on thee, and not deprive thee of His reward!'

The Wives and Children of Abu Bakr.

He had in the time of ignorance married Qutylah, the daughter of A'bdu-l-a'zyz and Omm Rûmân, the daughter of Jâber B. O'mayrah. His son A'bdullah and [his daughter] Asmâ Dhâtu-n-nattâqyn he had by Qutylah, but A'bdu-r-rahman and A'ayshah [who became the wife of the

prophet] he had by Omm Rûmân In the time of Islâm he married Asmâ, the daughter of O'mys; she bore to him Muhammad, whom A'li brought up, and who engaged so much in prayer that he was surnamed the ascetic of the Quraish, and something about Muhammad B. Abu Bakr will be narrated in these pages. It is said that Abu Quhâfah, the father of Abu Bakr, departed this life during the Khalifate of O'mar, and that he was received into the proximity of divine mercy after ninety-nine years of his age had elapsed.

His Officials.

O'mar B. Alkhattâb was his Qâdzy, O'thmân B. O'ffan and Zaid B. Hâreth were his amanuenses. His official in Mekkah was E'tâb B. Asyd, whom his holy and prophetic lordship had appointed governor after the conquest of that country, and Abu Bakr left him also in that post, but he died on the same day as Abu Bakr. In Ttâyf the agent of Abu Bakr was O'thmân B. Abu-l-a'ass; he had appointed Mohâjer B. Ommyah to Ssa'nâ, Zyâd B. Lobeyd to Hadzramant, A'lâ Hadzramy to Bahrayn, Jaryr B. A'bdullah Aljabali to Najrân, to the Sowâd of E'râq he had appointed Mothanna B. Hâreth, to the country of Syria Abu O'baydah B. Jurrâh and Shorahbil B. Hasnah, and, despite their being governors, the three last-mentioned individuals were under the command of Khâled B. Alwolyd.

Record of the Khalifate of O'mar B. Alkhattâb

When O'mar had become established in the Khalifate, he said: 'Abu Bakr had been called the Khalifah [*i.e.*, successor] of the apostle of God, and it would be a long title to call me the Khalifah of the Khalifah of God.' The people asked, 'What expression are we to use to designate thy noble person?' He replied: 'You being Believers and I your Amir, call me Amir of the Believers.' It is related in the 'Meadows of Gold' that the first man who called him Amir of the Believers was A'dy B. Hâtim, and also others are mentioned, but Allah knows best. It is said that when

the office of the Khalifate had become adorned by the installation of O'mar therein, he sent a letter to the Amirs of Syria, who were at that time engaged in a siege, informing them of the demise of Abu Bakr and his accession to the Khalifate, also that he had removed Khâled B. Alwolyd from the command, and had appointed thereto Abu O'baydah B. Jurrâh in his stead. He despatched also another letter to Abu O'baydah B. Jurrâh, the contents of which were as follows: 'When thou receivest this writing thou art to convoke the officers of the army and to inform them of thy appointment to, and of the removal of Khâled from, the command, that they may obey and follow thee. The army of Islâm being numerous in those parts, thou art to send back to us the men thou standest not in need of, but to retain those with thee whom thou requirest, and one of the men thou standest in need of is Khâled B. Alwolyd, to whose departure thou art not to consent.' When Sheddâd B. Aws, who was the envoy of O'mar, arrived in the vicinity of Damascus, he gave both letters to Abu O'baydah, who kept the matter secret, performed the prayers as usual in the rear of Khâled [who was the Emâm], and was too modest to inform him of his removal. Meanwhile the rumour of Abu O'baydah's appointment had spread, and in conversation people called him Amir. When Khâled heard the rumour in the way just alluded to, he said: 'May God the Most High and Glorious pardon Abu Bakr; if he were alive he would never have removed me from the command.' There is a tradition that when the letter appointing Abu O'baydah to the command had arrived, he kept it secret, and Khâled continued as before to administer affairs until a second letter arrived ordering Abu O'baydah to retain a portion of the army and to beleaguer Damascus therewith, but to send the rest in the direction of Hamss, retaining near himself those who were needed, one of them being Khâled B. Alwolyd, whose aid and advice Abu O'baydah could not dispense with. This letter the couriers handed to Khâled, but the manner in which he was informed of his removal is narrated also in

another way; when, however, he had heard of it he spoke as follows to Abu O'baydah: '*Why hast thou up to this time not informed me of the state of affairs?*' Abu O'baydah *replied*: '*I never meant to reveal it*, because the commandership and Amirate is to intelligent and experienced men not of such value that two brothers should contend for it, envy each other for it, or uselessly grieve for the loss of it. O Khâled, we have appointed thee to be the Amir of the whole cavalry of the army, so that we may bravely and unanimously continue the siege together.' It is recorded in some histories that when O'mar had become Khalifah, he wrote to the Amirs of Syria: 'Ask Khâled whether he had slain Mâlek by accident or on purpose. Spare him if he confesses his error, but if not, then take the turban off his head in that very interview and confiscate one half of his property.' When the Amirs had received the letter, they asked Khâled, and he replied: 'Give me respite this night that I may consider this matter.' During that night he held a consultation with his sister Fattimah, who was a very intelligent person, and she said: 'The desire of O'mar is that thou shouldst confess the killing of Mâlek B. Nuyrah to have been improper, so that he may invite all the Bani Nuyrah to wreak vengeance for their brother and to slay thee.' The next day Khâled B. Alwolyd gave a suitable answer, and the Amirs acted according to the instructions of O'mar.

THE CONQUEST OF DAMASCUS.

After Abu O'baydah B Jurrâh had assumed the duties of commander-in-chief, Khâled B. Alwolyd and all the other Amirs applied themselves so diligently and strenuously to the siege of Damascus that the garrison of the fortress was in great distress. After a consultation the Governor of Damascus marched from the city with his brave army and drew it out in lines opposite to the adherents of Islâm. The Musalmâns fought and resisted during an hour, whereon they turned their backs for the sake of convenience and fled. The opponents, imagining that the

victory-boding army had returned to its own encampment, and would remain there, pursued it; but the army of Islâm, having marched a short distance, returned, and a terrible conflict ensued between the antagonists. During the fight Ssafuwân B. Mua'ttal Salmy happened to perceive one of the caitiffs, who wore a gilded helmet on his head and a valuable cuirass on his breast. Ssafuwân, watching his opportunity, attacked the man, wounded him with his spear, and, lifting him from the saddle, prostrated him on the ground. Hereon, the wife of this man, being armed, attacked Ssafuwân furiously; but when he perceived his assailant to be a woman, he said to himself, 'What man is he who is less than a woman?' and, drawing his sword, intended to defend himself, whereon the woman, seized by fright, returned to her lines. Ssafuwân thereon alighted from his charger, and, depriving her husband of his garments as well as of his arms, went back to the ranks. The army of Islâm, encouraged by the bravery of Ssafuwân, forthwith made an onslaught upon the foe, and, repeating it several times, killed so many that the calculator of imagination would fail to ascertain the number of the people slain on that occasion, confessing his inability to do so. Those who had escaped the sword fled from the battle-field as they best could and threw themselves into the fortress of Damascus, the victorious army pursuing the fugitives till it reached the fortress and continued the siege with the utmost alacrity. In those days the price of grain rose enormously in the city.

There was such a famine in Damascus
That friends forgot to love each other.

When the siege had lasted a considerable time, the inhabitants of Damascus sent a message to Heraclius, who was then in Antioch, to the following purport: 'It is nearly a year since the Arab army is closely besieging us, and has reduced us to a state of famine and of misery. We have sallied forth several times from the city, have fought and

[7] The above is a well-known distich, quoted from the 'Gulistân' of Sa'di.

striven to preserve our honour, but altogether in vain. If his exalted majesty be favourably inclined towards this country, let him make haste to aid it, because we have become so exhausted that we possess no strength; if, on the contrary, delay takes place in this matter, we shall be under the necessity of concluding peace with our foes, because, after having granted us quarter, it will be possible to satisfy them with little.' The dark-minded Heraclius thereon sent the following reply to the beleaguered inhabitants of Damascus: 'Your letter has been received and the contents thereof have become known. You are to be strenuous in defending the town, and to ward off the Arabs as much as possible till I arrive and relieve you with an army which I am fitting out. Be aware that the Arabs do not keep their promises, and do not act according to what they have spoken. Be not deceived by their speeches, because after having concluded peace with you and taken possession of the city, they will plunder all your property, and will carry off your families into captivity; therefore you are not to surrender the fortress to them, but to wait for my arrival to aid you.' When the inhabitants of Damascus had perused the letter of the Qayssar, they were tranquillized and glad. They defended the place for some time longer, passing their days and nights in expectation of relief, but when they perceived the force and courage of the army of Islâm augmenting day by day, and there were no hopes of aid from the Qayssar, the Governor of Damascus sent a number of respectable men to sue for peace. A'bu O'baydah considered it proper to assent to the demand, whereon he wrote a treaty of peace, to which also the simple and the gentle of the town affixed their signatures, after they had consented to pay him one hundred thousand gold dinârs; and, moreover, every male assented to pay annually a capitation tax of four, and every female of two dinârs. The money having been paid and the keys of the gates surrendered to the army of Islâm, Abu O'baydah despatched one-fifth of the sum to Madinah, and informed O'mar the Amir of the Faithful of the glorious victory he

had gained, but distributed the rest of the money among the troops. After he had conquered Damascus, Abu O'baydah sent A'mru B. A'ass with troops to the country of Falesttyn [Palestine] and orders to conclude peace if the inhabitants were so inclined, but in the contrary case to pillage them. A'mru B. A'ass acted as he had been commanded, but when the people of that country had heard that Damascus had with the surrounding districts fallen under the sway of the Musalmâns they were sore afraid, congregated in one spot, and made preparations for resistance and war. They despatched couriers to Antioch asking the Qayssar to send them reinforcements, whereon he despatched twenty thousand cavalry, who were lancers, to Falesttyn, who arrived there after duly traversing the distance. When A'mru B. A'ass was informed of the arrival of these troops, as well as that twenty thousand more cavalry of the enemy had been concentrated at Ba'lbek and would join the lancers, he became pensive, and informed Abu O'baydah in a letter of this state of affairs.

March of Khâled B. Alwolyd to Ba'lbek, Flight of the Opponents, and his rejoining the Musalmâns.

When A'bu O'baydah had obtained information about the massing of the Byzantine troops, he knew that A'mru B A'ass would not be able to cope with them, and consulted Khâled about the impending calamity. Khâled replied: 'My opinion is to attack the Christian Byzantines and the Arab apostates in concert with A'mru B. A'ass, Shorahbil B. Hasnah, Zaid B. Abu Sofiân, and other Amirs such as they. Thou must write to them not to be in haste to attack the opponents till I arrive in Ba'lbek, and ascertain who the people are that desire to succour the inhabitants of Falesttyn, whereon I shall draw forth from my sleeve the arm of boldness and shall annihilate the foes.' Abu O'baydah approved of this opinion, and despatched a courier to A'mru B. A'ass with instructions not to hasten

on hostilities until Khâled had reached him. Thereon Abu O'baydah sent Khâled with five thousand cavalry to Ba'lbek, and as soon as the enemies became aware of his approach they drew out their forces in lines, whereon champions sallied forth on both sides and began the contest, which lasted from the rising of the sun till the setting of it. Seeing the boldness of the opponents, Khâled shouted: 'Musalmân people, I shall attack these forces, and if you will aid me, the breeze of victory may perhaps blow upon the standards of Islâm' When the auxiliaries had joined Khâled, the two armies attacked each other, and the Yamani swords having begun their work, dyed the soil with blood, till at last by Divine favour the zephyr of victory commenced to waft over the glorious standards, so that countless numbers of the opponents hastened to the infernal regions, whilst some took refuge in the fort and others hastened in the direction of Falesttyn. The victorious army gained immense booty, all of which Khâled despatched to Abu O'baydah, informing him in a letter of the exploit. Abu O'baydah thereon offered thanks to God, and sent the following letter to Khâled: 'As thou hast conquered the people of Ba'lbek, and thy mind has been delivered of all apprehensions concerning them, thou art, according to thy promise, to march to Falesttyn and do thy utmost in assisting our friends.' Khâled acted as he had been bidden, and proceeded in the required direction. When, however, the Byzantines learnt that the adherents of Islâm were day by day receiving reinforcements, and were thus getting more powerful, they abandoned their camp, and retreated to a place called Majal, where they halted. Meanwhile Abu O'baydah, having in conformity with the requirements of the circumstances appointed a man to take his place in Damascus, marched in person with a force of brave men to Falesttyn, where he joined the troops of Khâled B. Alwolyd and of A'mru B. A'ass, after having hastened on day and night. When the Byzantines were informed of the arrival of Abu O'baydah, they sent him the following letter: 'You must leave this country, or else we shall annihilate you

with our brave army, not sparing the life of any Musalmân in our land.' Abu O'baydah dismissed the envoys with a suitable reply, which having reached the Battâryqah [patriarchs or patricians], fear and complete terror having overpowered their minds, they despatched another messenger, requesting him to send to them a pious Musalmân, so that they might ascertain from him what was the object of the advent of the Musalmâns in their country, and what their eagerness for fighting was based upon. Thereon Abu O'baydah ordered Moa'adh B Jabal to go and meet them. Moa'adh donned a loose coat-of-mail with a silken lining under it, wound a red turban around his head, mounted a black charger, and departed to the Byzantine army. When he had performed the distance and approached the assembly of the Battâryqah, he alighted from his horse, took the bridle in his hand, advancing further, till the Amirs and Wazirs perceived him and ordered one of their slaves to take charge of his horse. The slave approached and desired to wait on him, but he said that, being himself more worthy to take care of his horse than any other man, he would not surrender it, and continued his way with the bridle of his steed in his hand When he had come quite close to that assembly, he perceived distinguished and noble Mohâjer [*sic*] sitting on costly pillows and couches, whereon another man beckoned to him to let go his horse to meet those persons, who were the Amirs and buttresses of the Qayssar's monarchy, to sit down among them, and to speak to them. Moa'adh, however, replied · 'Why should I step on their carpet and sit down with them? I intend to tell them in a standing position what I have to say.' The interpreter said: 'The Byzantine Battâryqah will be displeased to see thee standing while they sit, and thus to converse with thee.' Moa'adh continued: 'As our prophet has forbidden us to stand [humbly] before created beings, I shall not do so, and I dislike to sit on this carpet, which is very ornamental; but as sitting is indispensable, I shall squat on the bare ground.' The interpreter rejoined: 'The Byzantines have heard something of thy abstinence and

piety, they intend to show thee respect and honour, do not therefore abase thyself by behaving like slaves and bondsmen, whose business it is to sit on the ground.' Moa'adh continued: 'Being one of the slaves of the Lord of lords, what harm is there in my sitting on the carpet of my Nourisher?' The interpreter said: 'It is known that thou art one of the best Arabs.' Moa'adh replied: 'I fear I am one of the worst of them.' In short, more talk ensued between them than this abridgment can contain, and at last they asked him what was wanted from them. Moa'adh then said: 'We want you to believe in the book of God—whose magnificence be glorified—and in the apostolate of the Musttafa, as well as to accept the ordinances of Islâm, such as prayers, fasting, etc., and to abstain from eating pork, drinking wine, and other matters prohibited by the law. If you do not profess the Faith you must pay a capitation tax, and if you agree to neither the sword must decide between us.' After they had heard these words of Moa'adh they despaired of attaining their object, and said: 'There is a vast difference between what we say and what you want. There is, however, yet one proposal which we desire to make; if you assent to it all will be well, but if not the affair will be greatly protracted.' He asked: 'What is it?' They replied: 'Retain the Bulghâr country which you have forcibly taken from us, but abstain from invading any other possessions of ours. If you make a treaty on this subject with us, we shall be your allies against the Persians and other foreigners.' Moa'adh replied: 'The Bulghâr country and other districts formerly belonging to you are now in our possession; but it is our intention to deprive you of all the countries, forts, and strongholds over the inhabitants of which you dominate. The wish of the ascetic is one thing, and the melancholy of the lover is another.'[8] The Battâryqah of Byzantium, who had listened to these words, became incensed with wrath, threatened, reproached, and then dismissed him, whereon Moa'adh likewise uttered angry words and departed. The Byzantines,

[8] Meaning, 'We entertain different aspirations.'

however, sent an envoy after him to Abu O'baydah with the following message: 'We had requested thee to send us a man just in his dealings and conversant with the subtleties of negotiations, but thou hast sent one who possesses no sense of justice, and recoiled from listening to truth, so that how much soever we held forth offers of pacification, he retorted with threats of hostilities, so that we do not know whether he has uttered sentiments approved by thee or not. Now we implore thee to despatch to us another man, that we may tell him a few words profitable to thee as well as to us, or else allow us to send a confidential man to thee, to represent to thee what we have to say.' Abu O'baydah having assented, the Byzantines sent a very eloquent and oily-tongued envoy, whose negotiations for peace were, however, not approved of by Abu O'baydah, because they were contrary to the law and not in agreement with the Sonna, so that the envoy returned disappointed, and informed them of the state of affairs.

War of the Army of Islâm with the Battâryqah of Byzantium

When some days had elapsed after the interchange of messages, and the countenance of pacification had remained hidden under the veil of concealment, Abu O'baydah drew out his victorious army one morning, after the world-illuminating sun had torn off the cover of darkness from the body of the earth, and took up his position in the centre with Khâled B. Alwolyd and a number of valiant Arabs, appointing Zaid B Abu Sofiân over the right and Shorahbil B. Hasnah over the left flank The Byzantine Battâryqah also arranged their troops, raised their standards, displayed their crucifixes, and both armies being ready for the contest, a number of valiant Byzantines made an onslaught upon Zaid B. Abu Sofiân, but were, despite all their efforts, unable to make him budge from the spot on which he had taken up his position Another crowd attacked Shorahbil

B. Hasnah, but was equally unsuccessful. Thereon ten thousand other warriors, ready to sacrifice their lives, hastened to the centre and attacked Khâled B. Alwolyd and the Musalmâns who surrounded him, but they were received with a shower of arrows which staggered them, so that after contending for awhile they retreated, astonished at the bravery of their antagonists. When Abu O'baydah B. Jurrâh had witnessed the bravery of the defenders of the religion, he shouted: 'Musalmâns, the Lord and Bestower of gifts undoubtedly aids those who fight for the religion and those who walk on the straight path! The professors of hypocrisy and opposition have made repeated onslaughts, and would have moved an iron mountain if they had attacked it; but they have fled from the battle-field and left their place to you! It will now be proper to make a unanimous onslaught! Know it for a certainty that whoever of you attains martyrdom in battle will be eagerly received in the front ranks of paradise, and whoever remains alive will earn praise, comfort and vast booty.' Khâled and all the Musalmâns, approving of these words, said: 'The proposal of the Amir is fraught with eternal and temporal advantages!' When Abu O'baydah rushed forth with the centre, the right and the left flank of the army also sallied forth, and, using their swords, arrows, lances and daggers, broke the lines of the Byzantines, separating them from each other, and sending many to the infernal regions; but those who had fled, returning again, beat their drums, blew their fifes, raised shouts to the skies, and encouraged each other till they again attacked the Musalmâns, and after both parties had commingled in battle the number of the slain became so considerable that horses could no longer move quickly. The Byzantines then retreated from the battle to their former position, but drew out their lines in array, and remained standing On this occasion Qays B. Hobayrah, who was one of the champions of the victorious army, hastened to the lines of the enemy and fought till his lance broke, whereon he used his sword till it became notched, and it is on record that

during this contest Qays broke ten lances, two of his sabres were notched, and that his precious body was wounded forty-seven times; but as the fate of that alligator in the ocean of contest was delayed, he was spared and defended from the effects of the evil eye.* When, however, Qays had well-nigh expired from the multitude of his wounds, Khâled B. Alwelyd, with Hâshem B. O'tbah Abu Woqqâss sallied forth with a troop of brave men and assailed the Byzantines, breaking up their lines, slaying some of the enemies, wounding others, and thereon returning to their own lines. After the return of Khâled and of Hâshem, the valiant Byzantine leaders set about reorganizing their lines, and after having drawn out seventy of them, they laid poisoned arrows on their bows, and very slowly advanced towards the army of Islâm. Meanwhile, Khâled B. Alwolyd harangued his troops, inciting them to fight, and shouting in a loud voice, said: 'Be aware that as soon as you hear me uttering the *Takbyr* [magnification of Allah] I have attacked the foe, whereon you are to reinforce me. I entertain hopes that the zephyr of victory will soon blow upon the standards of Islâm, and the opponents will be at once annihilated.' One hour afterwards Khâled, having bared his head, rushed against the Byzantines, and so intimidated the Byzantines by his furious shouting that they preferred flight to permanency; and when the world-conquering army overtook them much bloodshed took place. On that battlefield eleven thousand of the enemy were slain, who were devoured by wild beasts and dogs, whilst some of the fugitives took shelter in the fort, and others, fleeing in the direction of Antioch, reached the abode of the Qayssar. Immense booty fell into the hands of the victorious army, and Abu O'baydah, having set apart one-fifth of the property, sent it with a despatch describing the victory to Madinah, and distributed the rest in conformity with the law among the troops. According to the tradition of historians, the forces of Heraclius amounted on that occa-

* See article on the 'Evil Eye,' etc., in the 'Journal of the Bombay Branch,' R.A.S., vol. x., 1873-74, by Mr E. Rehatsek.

sion to sixty thousand, but those of the Musalmâns to not more than thirty-seven thousand men. When the rumour of this glorious victory had spread in the surrounding country near and afar, awe of the adherents of Islâm took possession of the minds of the population.

Conquest of the District of Hamss.

Let it not be concealed to intelligent and discerning men that the conquest of Hamss took place after the subjugation of the two cities,[10] but unwilling to make a gap between the contests of the Byzantine forces and the army of Islâm, the writing reed of explanation has inserted the conquest of Hamss in this place. Historians have narrated that after the conquest of the two cities the people of Hamss had begun to strengthen their fortress, and sent a message to the Qayssar requesting him to despatch twenty thousand cavalry to their aid. When the Musalmâns heard this news they raised a unanimous shout of the *Takbyr*, and frightened the opponents. Abu O'baydah, however, despatched a letter to O'mar the Commander of the Believers, who thereon sent orders to besiege the town of Hamss. Abu O'baydah accordingly marched, and after traversing the distance, reached Hamss, which he encircled with his troops so closely that nothing whatever could be passed into or out of the town, so that provisions became extremely dear, and the maintenance of the garrison precarious. The people having become so distressed that they cared not for their lives, they sallied out from the town, and drew themselves up in battle array opposite to the victorious army, and both parties using their swords, began to fight valourously, and displayed equal prowess. At last Khâled B. Alwolyd threw his turban off his head and attacked the foes with Yazid B. Abu Sofiân and a number of Musalmâns, slaying countless numbers of those accursed fellows, whom they sent to the infernal regions; others, however, having

[10] The text has 'Madâin,' which is the dual of the word 'Madinah,' i.e., 'city.' The towns of Cresiphon and Seleucia were usually designated by the expression 'Madâin,' and as these were taken by the Arabs about this time, they are probably the towns alluded to.

fled from the battlefield, entered the fort, pleaded for mercy, and sued for quarter. Abu O'baydah having complied with their request, the people of Hamss surrendered the keys of the gates, whereon he sent one-fifth of the spoils with an account of the victory to Madinah; and when the news thereof reached that pleasant city, O'mar rejoiced with all the magnates of Islâm, made prostrations and offered thanks. Fârûq then wrote a letter to Abu O'baydah as follows: 'I have received thy despatch, understood its contents, and the gladness of my heart was augmented by this great and new victory. It appears also from thy letter that thou hast dispersed some of the army of Islâm to invite the inhabitants of the surrounding districts to accept the upright religion; but if they refuse and demur no respite of slaughter and pillage is to be granted to them. Now, I am of opinion that the victorious army ought again to assemble, dwelling for awhile in peace and comfort, until my orders reach it what to do and where to march. Farewell.' When the letter of Fârûq reached Abu O'bayday, he again assembled the forces he had sent into the surrounding districts, and remained quietly in the city of Hamss, waiting to see what time would reveal.

THE QAYSSAR APPOINTS MÂHÂN TO FIGHT THE MUSALMÂNS, AND RECORD OF SOME EVENTS WHICH TOOK PLACE AT THAT TIME.

When some of the Amirs of the Qayssar had returned from the battlefield of Hamss and arrived in Antioch, they were followed also by the rumour of the loss of Hamss. When the Qayssar had obtained this information, the city of Antioch seemed, despite its vast extent, to be more narrow in his eyes than the ring of the letter *mim*. He manifested displeasure and grief, whereon he convoked the Amirs and questioned them thus: 'Tell me whether the Arabs are human beings like yourselves or not.' The Battâryqah replied: 'They are merely a lot of rebels.' He continued: 'Are your numbers and appliances greater, or theirs?' They answered: 'We are in all matters far

superior to those people.' The Qayssar said: 'If such be the case, I am astonished that you have run away from the Arabs, and have abandoned your country to the foe.' The Battâryqah then drooped their heads and remained silent. An aged man, and one of the most intelligent of the period, said: 'If your majesty will permit I shall give the required explanation.' The Qayssar having assented, the old man spoke as follows: 'The Arab army has prevailed over us because the Arabs are pious and we profligate; they are righteous, and we are wicked, they are addicted to many excellent arts, such as fasting, prayers, pilgrimage, and almsgiving. They keep their promises and covenants, they practise kindness and abstain from prohibited things, whereas we oppress the worshippers of God the Most High and keep no covenants; we do forbidden things, commit sodomy, and do not abstain from prohibited and sinful acts; we allow disgraceful acts to be perpetrated, and do not abstain from wicked acts.' Heraclius said: 'O Sheikh, I swear by God that thou hast spoken the truth, but why hast thou not revealed it to me ere this?' The Qayssar thereon, turning his face to the notables of his monarchy, said. 'I am of opinion that you should leave this country and establish yourselves in another. No good nor profit can come to me from you, as you are addicted to evil acts and wicked practices, the despicable qualities and blamable morals mentioned to me by this old man being inherent in your nature.' The old man said: 'O king, we cannot surrender such a district merely on account of the slight wounds inflicted on us, and we cannot abandon our country to the sway of the foe; because in war sometimes victory and sometimes defeat ensues, the gaining of spoils or the loss of property. It will now be proper to use the army upon which the rays of thy consideration, favour and beneficence have been shining in expectation of such an emergency, and to add to this army the tried warriors assembled around thy glorious throne, for the purpose of repelling the Arab forces; and if we succeed in conquering them all will be well, but in the contrary case thou wilt at

any rate be excused for abandoning thy country and emigrating from thy fatherland, so that no one will attribute to thee want of intelligence and accuse thee of cowardice or wickedness.' The Qayssar, having approved of the advice of the far-seeing old man, sent out envoys to various parts of the country, and ordered all the troops scattered about to assemble in the capital. Hereon such a number of full-grown men and blooming youths congregated after a short time in Antioch that the vision of the revolving sphere had in former times and in past generations never beheld even the hundredth part of such an army gathered in one locality. After these forces had assembled the Qayssar ennobled Mâhân—who was distinguished by the ornaments of wisdom and bravery, in which he excelled all his peers and contemporaries—with the diadem and belt [of command], presented him with three hundred thousand dirhems, and ordered him to march, first with five hundred thousand warriors bearing swords and lances, to Hamss, appointing also three Amirs of high dignity, each with one hundred thousand cavalry, to act under his orders. When the report of the intention and of the number of the Byzantine army had reached the noble audition of Abu O'baydah, he became pensive and held a consultation with shrewd and experienced men, on the convenience of abiding or departing, of moving or remaining stationary. Yazid B. Abu Sofiân said: 'It will be appropriate to leave some of our troops in Hamss, but to march out with the bulk of them, and, encamping near the city, to issue orders to the troops of Damascus, Falesttyn and Ardan to reinforce us, and when they have joined us we shall be enabled to set about annihilating our foes with greater confidence and with success.' Shorahbil B. Hasnah said: 'It would not be wise to leave our families and relatives in the city and to trust the Christians, because they may break the treaty, and surrender our people to their co-religionists when opportunity offers.' Abu O'baydah continued: 'As the inhabitants of the fort cannot be trusted, we shall expel them, that our people

may dwell therein safely and comfortably.' Shorahbil interposed, saying: 'To act thus would be dishonest, because we have made a treaty with the inhabitants not to expel them from their dwellings. If it be agreed upon we shall as hitherto all remain in the city, and informing O'mar of the state of affairs, shall wait for his instructions.' Abu O'baydah said: 'The time is short, and the foe may possibly be on us ere the courier reaches Madinah.' Mayeserah B. Masrûf said: 'O Amir, we are inhabitants of deserts and wastes, we must leave the confinement of the fortress, march towards Damascus, and send a courier with information to O'mar. If he sends us reinforcements, it is just what we desire, but in the contrary case we must attack the enemy at the proper time, and trust in God [for the result].' The others having mostly approved of the opinion of Mayeserah, the army departed from Hamss to Damascus, but a letter was despatched by a courier to O'mar, informing him of the approach of the Byzantines and of their numbers, and asking for aid. When the letter of Abu O'baydah reached Fârûq, he wrote the following reply: 'Sofiân B. Moa'qal, the messenger of Abu O'baydah, has arrived and brought his letter, the contents of which I have perused, and approved of the march of the army to Damascus, because Sofiân had assured me that good men had considered this to be necessary, and I entertain hopes that the expedition will terminate prosperously. The multitude of enemies ought not to be dreaded, because generally victory does not depend upon the greatness of numbers, for *how often hath a small army discomfited a great one by the permission of Allah!*[11] If God willeth, I shall send forces after [the departure of] Sofiân to aid the army.' Sofiân, having left Madinah, travelled till he reached Abu O'baydah, handed him the letter, and said: 'I swear by God that O'mar was right [when he said]: It was not proper on the part of the adherents of Islâm to march back to Damascus, abandoning to the foe a country which they had conquered with the sword.' It is related

[11] Qurân, ii. 250.

in the 'Târikh-i Aa'thum Kûfi' that, after Sofiân had departed, O'mar despatched A'amer B. Hudhym with three thousand men to reinforce Abu O'baydah.

Arrival of the Byzantines in Hamss, and Narrative of some Events.

It is recorded in histories that Mâhân departed from Antioch with one hundred thousand men, and arrived, after traversing the distance, at Hamss, where he reproved and chastised the inhabitants for having made a treaty with the professors of Islâm, but they excused themselves as best they could, and submitted themselves to him. Mâhân then departed from Hamss, and after traversing the necessary distance, reached the water of Yarmûk, near which he encamped, and after the expiration of three days three other Amirs, who had been appointed to reinforce him, also joined him one after the other. When the adherents of Islâm had obtained this information, they became dismayed, so that Abu O'baydah despatched a swift messenger to O'mar, informing him of the multitude and boldness of the opponents as well as of the weakness and smallness of the Musalmân forces. The courier arrived in a very brief time in Madinah, and O'mar wept after he had perused the letter of Abu O'baydah, although he sent a cheery answer encouraging him to fight; he, moreover, said to the courier: 'Convey my salutation to Abu O'baydah, and tell him: O'mar recommends thee to keep up thy spirits, because, if God willeth, his reinforcements will join thee before a battle takes place.' After O'mar had given leave to the courier to depart, he despatched Sowyd B. Ssâmet Anssâri, with three thousand brave men, to reinforce the Musalmâns.—It is recorded in the 'Maqssad Aqssa' that, after the courier of Abu O'baydah had departed, he despatched Sa'd B. A'amer and Abu Sofiân B. Harb with one thousand men to reinforce him. —It is recorded in the 'Târikh-i Aa'thum Kûfi' that Sowyd had reached the camp of Abu O'baydah before the arrival of the letter of O'mar, and that the Musalmâns rejoiced.

On this occasion Mâhân held a consultation, after which he sent an envoy to Abu O'baydah with the following message: 'We have been informed that the man who had ere this been the Amir and commander-in-chief of the army is adorned with the decorations of a noble genealogy. Now we stand in need of an interview with him. that we may communicate to him our intentions and learn what yours are.' Abu O'baydah, having complied with the request of Mâhân, ordered Khâled next day to pay a visit to the camp of the Byzantines When the morning dawned Khâled accordingly betook himself to the camp of the opponents, but ordered his red cupola, which he had purchased for three hundred dinârs, to be pitched near the tent of Mâhân, and when the latter entered it the first words he uttered were as follows 'This cupola of thine is very elegant, and pleases us greatly. We request thee to give us this tent, for which we shall very gladly pay thee any sum thou askest.' Khâled said nothing about the cupola, but replied. 'We have no need of your wares.' It is said that Mâhân intended by his affable words to pave the way to familiarity with Khâled—In some chronicles it is related that Mâhân had remained sitting in full pomp in his own tent, and had invited Khâled to enter it. When Khâled arrived, Mâhân rose to his feet, received him with politeness, and spoke with great affability. After these preliminary civilities, he spoke to Khâled as follows: 'If the acquisition of money be the object of your hostilities, we agree to present to O'mar B. Alkhattâb, the ruler of the Arabs, ten thousand dinârs, to Abu O'baydah five thousand, to thee five thousand, and shall give to one hundred of the chief men of your army one hundred thousand dinârs [to be distributed among them], on condition that you leave our country as soon as you receive the money, and hereafter no more invade our possessions'—Let it not remain unknown that when in transactions like these the dinâr is mentioned, it implies one mithqâl of gold, and the dirhem is silver.—When Mâhân had finished what he had to say, Khâled B. Alwolyd, having recited some passages in modu-

lated prose and in poetry, added the following sentiments of his own: 'If it be the wish of the Amir to see the dust raised by contention and strife laid, and to behold the foundations of peace and love which have been destroyed to be built up, he must illuminate the casket of his heart with the light of sincerity, and use the sword of his polished tongue in uttering the words promulged by the [religious] law, if, however, Divine favour is not vouchsafed him to *guide him, he will, for the* preservation of his family and wealth, have to pay a capitation tax; else hostilities must continue in case of refusal, and the blood-shedding scimitar alone will become the arbiter between us and you.' Mâhân replied: 'O Khâled, the Byzantines will never abandon their religion and believe in Muhammad, who was your prophet; nor will they agree to pay the capitation tax, which would be tantamount to a confession of their weakness and imbecility Do not threaten us with hostilities; and I swear by my life that I have brought the valiant army thou beholdest for the purpose of waging war against you! Arise and depart from me, and prepare for a conflict, because we are also ready for it.' When Khâled B Alwolyd heard these words, he stroked down his skirts and departed to report to Abu O'baydah the result of the interview. Mâhân on his part, who had been foiled in his attempts at negotiation, consulted the Battâryqah and men of intellect on the manner of combating the Arabs Some said. 'Our forces exceed those of the enemy by many thousands, and amount to more than the double of their number, it would be proper that each day one hundred thousand should attack them, and if victory appears on the mirror of our aspirations all will be well, but in the contrary case—which Allah forbid—another hundred thousand will be ready to encounter the foe.' Mâhân having demurred to this advice, another man spoke as follows: 'It will be proper to draw out in battle array the whole Byzantine army opposite to the Arab forces, thus ten of our men will be able to assail each Arab, so that he will undoubtedly be slain or captured.' Mâhân replied: 'The correctness of

this opinion is evident, because even if two of our men attack one of theirs they will not be able to cope with us, and will not leave their man unsuccoured on the battle-field; we must therefore hold our entire army in readiness, so as to make a unanimous onslaught upon the foe, and endeavour to annihilate our antagonists:

We shall either victoriously place our foot on the head of the sphere,
Or bravely sacrifice our heads to attain our desire.

The Byzantine grandees, having approved of the opinion of Mâhân, determined to act according to it; meanwhile, however, he despatched a letter to the residence of the Qayssar, the contents whereof were as follows: 'After we had encamped along the bank of the river Yarmûk, I summoned Khâled—some of whose exploits and qualities have reached your noble audition—and peace being at all times preferable to war, have first offered him large sums of money, so that, beguiled by wealth, he might be induced to return to his country; but in vain. Then I threatened him with the numbers of our victorious army, but also ineffectually. As our troops know that the Arabs are desirous of annihilating them, and will be satisfied by nothing except slaying, plundering or capturing them, they are ready to meet death.

'It is better to be a dead man under a stone,
Than to be a living man under disgrace.

We have now arrived at the determination to fight on an appointed day a battle royal, trusting that Divine favour will grant us victory to increase our prestige. I have, however, one night had a vision in which a person addressed me as follows: "O Mâhân! fight not with the Arab army, or else thou wilt be defeated and slain!" Having been distressed by this announcement, I awoke, but nevertheless determined to consider this dream as a vain hallucination. My weak mind now suggests that the sovereign and asylum of the world [*i.e.*, your majesty] should remove his family and treasures to Constantinople, but to continue to honour Antioch with the presence of his

noble person, to see what heaven will bring forth from the womb of futurity.'

It is related that when the hostilities were impending, one of the Battâryqah said to Mâhân: 'I have had a wonderful dream last night; if you will permit I shall narrate it.' Mâhân said: 'Relate it.' The Battryq said: 'I dreamt that tall men in white garments and green turbans alighted from the sky on earth, broke off the points of our arrows, drew out our swords from the scabbards, drove us about in all directions, and said: "Flee, or else you will all be slain." We accordingly ran, and while doing so many of us fell, and many became affected by a condition which disabled them from advancing one step. I also beheld detachments of our army making their appearance after each other and then again vanishing so as to leave no trace of themselves; and while thus fleeing I awoke.' Mâhân, being displeased and saddened by this tale, exclaimed: 'Ill-boding man! Let thy perverse eye see no rest, and may thy ear hear no glad tidings! Thy unpleasant dream has distressed my mind! The people thou hast seen falling and those thou hast seen standing will all be killed, and I wish thee to be slain first because thou hast informed us of the impending misery and destruction.' Strangely enough, Abu O'baydah had also dreamt a dream which, however, pointed to the victory of the Musalmâns over the adherents of aberration, as is narrated in detail in the 'Târikh-i Aa'thum Kûfi.'

Conflict of the Musalmâns with the Christians, and Flight of the Latter.

One morning, when the sovereign of the day, namely, the world-illuminating sun, had, after removing the hosts of the night, risen on the horizon of the east and was ascending to the azure sky, Mâhân appeared before the army and ordered it to be drawn out in twenty corps, each consisting of twenty thousand cavalry. He appointed to the command of each corps a Battryq to direct and to encourage it

in the conflict. Having assigned the right flank to Qanâtterah and to Jarjis [Georgios], and the rest to O'lqamah B. Mundher, he himself took up his position in front, having put a diadem on his head, donned a cuirass with gold brocade under it, handled a sabre, the scarf of which was encrusted with precious jewels, and mounted on a black charger, the saddle and reins whereof bore ornaments of pearls and rubies. The Musalmâns were astonished at the handsome appearance of the Byzantines, and Abu O'baydah, having cast a ray of consideration upon the victory-boding army, appointed A'mru B. Ala'ass with Zaid B. Abu Sofiân to the right flank, and gave the command of the left to Moa'adh B. Jabal with Sowyd B. Ssâmet Anssâri. The wing of the right flank he gave to Shorahbil B. Hasnah, and the wing of the left to Sa'd B. A'amer. He ordered O'maru-l-thaqfy to remain in ambush with four thousand cavalry, and, having himself in his noble person taken up a position in the centre, ordered the cavalry of the army not to transgress the advice of Khâled B. Alwolyd, and the infantry to obey the behests of Hâshem B Otbah and of Abu Woqqâss. The lines of the adherents of Islâm having been arranged, they despaired of their lives, and, ready to sacrifice them, advanced slowly towards their antagonists. They had progressed but a short distance, whereon they considered it proper to halt. Khâled then said to the cavalry: 'Having taken silence for your motto, speak not to each other, nor attack the enemy before you receive my orders.' The Byzantine infantry, having raised their standards and taken up their crucifixes, began to move from their position, while their U'lamâ and monks were reciting the Evangel [Enjil] and encouraging the people to fight so that their voices were loud like thunder. Meanwhile an Arab who had made profession of the Christian religion sallied out into the open space between the two armies, and having, as he stood there, uttered some nonsense, asked for a champion. Although several Musalmâns desired to fight him in single combat, Khâled B. Alwolyd kept them off till at last he

permitted Qays B. Hobayrah Almarari to attack him, whereon Qays, having drawn his sword and struck his head, prostrated him from his horse to the ground. He then cut off the head of that apostate and erected it on a spear. This event, which took place at the beginning of the contest, disheartened the Byzantines and pleased the Musalmâns so that their minds were comforted. At this time a detachment of brave warriors rushed at a signal from Khâled upon the lines of the Byzantines and broke them, prostrating nearly a thousand men to the ground. After this onslaught a great multitude of the opponents pledged themselves to each other to court death, and began to move like an iron mountain, leaping from their position and hastening towards the centre of the victory-boding army. Then Khâled B. Alwolyd rushed at them, at a signal from Abu O'baydah, with ten thousand celebrated horsemen, who might have stolen the pimple from the face of the moon with the points of their lances, or might have stitched together the two stars near the pole with their arrows, and sent after a hot combat the whole of those accursed caitiffs to hell so that not one of them issued alive from the fight. This dreadful spectacle made a great impression upon the Byzantines, and they became dismayed, but as they were under the necessity of fighting, they put down the foot of permanency, grasped their bows, and poured a rain of arrows upon the army of Islâm. Mâlek B. Hâreth was wounded by an arrow which tore his eyelid—whereon he was surnamed Ashtar[12]—and became so incensed that he drew the sword of vengeance from his scabbard, donned the buckler of contention, hastened to the lines of the enemy, and prostrated several champions who had no equals in bravery on the ground of abasement and disgrace. Yazid B. Abu Sofiân and A'mru B. Ala'ass likewise repeatedly assailed the foes, bent on repelling them, and at that time also E'kramah B. Abu Jahl, who was noted for his bravery, alighted from his charger and hastened on foot towards the enemy. Khâled B. Alwolyd said to him: 'Do not fight on

[12] Ashtar means a person whose eyelid is slashed off or opened.

foot! Do not throw thyself into the vortex of perdition, because the loss of thee will become an occasion of distress to the champions of the religion.' He replied: 'In the time of ignorance I have committed unworthy acts, and have many a time caused grief to his holy and prophetic lordship. To-day I may perchance accomplish an exploit which will expiate some of my transgressions.' Having uttered these words, he entered the lines of the enemies, many of whom he sent to Jahannum [Gehenna—hell], but attained at last himself the honour of martyrdom. After E'kramah had fallen, the champions of the religion, those endowed with foresight and those who had the certainty [of salvation], fought so valiantly that they drove the enemies from their position to the banks of the Yarmûk, which is a river of considerable size, so that many of them, hoping to escape the sword, threw themselves into the water, which thus became the vehicle conveying them to the infernal regions

When the Christian army had fallen into the utmost confusion, Mâhân requested one of the Battâryqah to order a sudden assault to enable him to escape from the whirlpool of annihilation into the open plain. Accordingly, three detachments of valiant men, desirous to renew the fight, turned towards the adherents of Islâm, and succeeded, with the greatest efforts, in making them recoil a few paces. Khâled, however, and all the officers of the army reproved their men, incited them to fight, and said: 'Most of the heroes and brave men of the period who aided Mâhân have been slain or drowned, and those who have escaped from the sword are trembling like animals about to be slaughtered. Consider this, and unanimously fall upon the caitiffs, that this affair may be fully and satisfactorily terminated.' The army whose motto is victory, having been encouraged by these words, immediately rushed upon the enemies and routed them, pursuing them with the scimitar of vengeance, so that the grasper of souls [*i.e.*, angel of death] was from morning till evening engaged in the duty to which he had been appointed, and by the time the night had set in

countless numbers of the fugitive *Bani-l-assfar* [*i.e.*, Byzantines, so called from their yellow complexion], who had fallen into watercourses and marshes, surrendered their lives to him:

> The yellow-eared ones died in corners[13]
> Ducking their heads in the black waters.

It is recorded that in this battle seventy thousand notable and celebrated Byzantines perished. The corpse of Mâhàn was found among the slain, but, despite all efforts, no wound could be discovered on his unhallowed carcase. Great booty and untold wealth also fell into the power of the army; the red cupola, however, which Mâhân had taken from Khâled could not be found, neither could it be ascertained into whose possession it had gone. Abu O'baydah despatched one-fifth of the spoils of this victory, which excelled all previous ones, with an account thereof, to Madinah. When the courier had reached that pleasant region, he gave the letter of Abu O'baydah to O'mar, who perused it and, rejoicing over the great victory, raised, with all present in the assembly, a great shout of the *Takbyr*, which ascended to the sky. Thanks were thereón offered for the boundless Divine mercy vouchsafed.

Account of the Superiority of the Musalmâns, and Return of Heraclius to Constantinople.

The first man of the fugitives who arrived at the residence of Heraclius, and whom he knew, was an inhabitant of O'moryah. When the eyes of Heraclius alighted on him, he asked: 'What news hast thou of the army?' He replied: 'The people have fled' The Qayssar continued: 'What people?' The man replied: 'Our friends.' The Qayssar, pretending not to have distinctly heard, inquired: 'Have our friends put the Arab army to flight, or have the Arabs routed our friends?' Hereon that little man became so confused that he was unable to give any reply. Heraclius then said to the persons standing near his throne: 'This

[13] The play of words on Gôsh, 'ear,' and Goshah, 'corner,' cannot be rendered in English.

individual is frightened, and his tongue refuses to tell the tale; bring me another man who is able to speak, and whose words may be trusted.' Thereon some officials departed from the assembly to meet the arriving fugitives, and found them approaching in the most wretched plight. They asked them what news they possessed of Mâhân and all the notables, and the fugitives replied: 'May you live for ever! All the Battâryqah have struck the drum of departure.' The officials then waited again upon Heraclius, and informed him of the true state of affairs. The Qayssar, becoming despondent, now said: 'What information is this you are giving me? I ask for a man who has been present at the battle, that he may give me a detailed account of it.' The courtiers, obeying orders, now brought Khozaymah B. A'mru Alshowkhi, who had fled from the battlefield and knew all the circumstances. The Qayssar asked him: 'What information possessest thou about the state of our army?' He replied 'Information than which there can be no worse.' The Qayssar exclaimed: 'The sign of evil and wickedness is manifest on thy countenance.' Then he continued to inquire about the nobles who had congregated from all quarters to wage war against the Arabs, but to the name of everyone concerning whom he asked Khozaymah replied: 'May thy life and reign be perpetual! He has not come out alive from the battle.' Heraclius then, turning to his Amirs, said: 'Bad news of a bad man.' He then asked: 'Art thou Khozaymah?' and, having received an affirmative reply, continued: 'Rememberest thou that when Muhammad the Arab sent me a letter[14] to accept his religion, and I was ready to do so, thou hast dissuaded me more than others?' Khozaymah acknowledged that such was the case, but entertained hopes of being pardoned. The Qayssar, however, ordered during that very interview his body to be eased from the load of his head:

> The head which is not at the feet of the mighty
> Is too heavy a load to remain on the shoulders.

[14] For details about this see Part II., vol. ii., of this work, pp. 517-523.

When the Qayssar perceived that it would become impossible for him to reside in Syria, he rode out from Antioch with his courtiers to a high mountain in the vicinity of the town, and, weeping aloud, said: 'Farewell to thee, O holy land! farewell to thee, O pure country! and farewell to thee, O earth full of comforts, blessings, and benefits! Farewell to thee, O earthly paradise, farewell! He who bids thee adieu is certain that, after taking leave of thee, he will never again behold thee.' The monarch, fettered by his love of power and wealth, having uttered these and similar expressions from the bottom of his sorrowful heart, then departed on the wings of celerity to Constantinople.

Conquest of Aleppo, and March of Mâlek Ashtar to the Boundaries of Rûm [*i.e.*, Byzantine Empire].

When Abu O'baydah B. Jurrâh had terminated the war of Yarmûk, he turned the reins of his intention towards Aleppo. He reached his destination after having performed the distance, and pitched his camp outside the city. The inhabitants of Aleppo negotiated for peace, and agreed to pay the capitation tax; and the gates having been opened, the Musalmâns began to govern the subjugated locality. After Abu O'baydah had taken possession of Aleppo, he ordered Mâlek Ashtar to march towards the frontier passes of Rûm. He obeyed, and when he had progressed a few days, Meysarah B. Masrûf was ordered to reinforce him with one thousand warriors more, and to hasten his march. When Mâlek Ashtar had arrived near the frontier pass [*Darband*], he learnt that about thirty thousand of the enemy had assembled in that place ready to give battle. When Mâlek became aware of the multitude of opponents, he drew in the reins of his intention till the arrival of Meysarah, whereon they held a consultation, and determined to begin hostilities. Both the opposing armies having arranged their centres, right and left flanks, and straightened their lines, champions issued from both sides roaring and boiling like the waves of the green sea [*i.e.*,

Indian Ocean]. On this occasion a hero of the Byzantine army, who was distinguished by his majestic figure, high stature, corpulent body, and firmness of purpose above his peers, placed his foot on the battle-ground and shouted for a champion; and though Mâlek Ashtar exhorted his brave warriors much, not one of them responded to the call. When Mâlek Ashtar perceived his own valiant men to be tardy in entering the lists of combat, he urged forward his charger, issued from the lines, and galloped to the Byzantine, whereon both drew their sabres and attacked each other. The Byzantine champion struck and split the helmet of Mâlek, his sword almost peretrating into the skull. Mâlek also inflicted a blow on the neck of his antagonist, but without much effect. Hereon the two heroes, the one dark-hearted and the other of an illuminated mind, separated from each other, and Ashtar returned to his friends. When he perceived that a rivulet of blood was flowing from his head, Mâlek cursed his sword, exclaiming: 'I swear by God that if I had no need of it for fighting, I would knock this sabre against stones until it was broken to pieces!' One of the sons of Mâlek replied: 'Our sabre is expected only to cut [and not to thrust], and this is perhaps the reason why it has taken no effect.' Mâlek said: 'Thou hast spoken the truth.' Then the son dressed the wound on the head of his father, and bandaged it. Mâlek then said to one of his cousins: 'Take my sabre and lend me thy sword, that I may return to the conflict and remove that obstinate fellow' The cousin of Ashtar replied, however 'Kindly excuse me and leave me my sword, because I need it.' Mâlek rejoined: 'Grant my request, that I may give thee my daughter Ammu-n-nu'mân in marriage.' Then he surrendered his sword to Mâlek, but when he desired again to rush into the fray, his relatives restrained him, saying: 'Do not throw thyself into the vortex of destruction, and have nothing to do with that accursed fellow.' Mâlek, however, swore by God that as long as a spark of life remained in his body he would not cease to contend with the foe nor don the garment of

weakness. When the Amirs perceived that Ashtar would be as good as his word, they withdrew their tongues into their palates, thus taking off the hand of advice from him. Ashtar then hastened towards the enemy, and was struck by the champion, whose sword, however, took no effect; whereon he brought down his own upon the head of the Byzantine, and split it. Then another Byzantine champion sallied out from the lines and attacked Mâlek, who struck his arm with his sword; but the champion caught him by his belt, and while Ashtar struggled to make him let go his hold of it, both warriors tumbled from their horses to the ground, rolling down the declivity towards the river till they came to a halt in a portion of the river-bed which contained at that time no water. Here Ashtar disengaged himself from his antagonist, and killed him with one blow. He then walked out from the river-bed, and joined his friends.

On that day the two armies fought from the morning to the anterior prayers, till at last the eyes of the faithful were illuminated by the beauty of the coveted victory, and the opponents who had escaped the grasp of death took to their heels Although the Musalmâns had vanquished the foe, they remained watching till dawn, and after they had held their matutinal prayers they received a courier bringing a letter from Abu O'baydah of the following purport: 'The safety of one Musalmân is more precious to me than the riches of the infidels, therefore Mâlek is to return as soon as this letter reaches him.' The army of Islâm obeyed this order, marched back, and joined Abu O'baydah after traversing the distance. Having appointed Habyb B. Muslamah to govern Aleppo and Qayssar B. Barr the surrounding districts, Abu O'baydah marched to Damascus, and on arriving there sent a letter to O'mar informing him of the state of affairs. Fârûq thereon sent him the following reply: 'Let it be known to Abu O'baydah that his letter has arrived, and from the contents thereof the return of the Qayssar to Constantinople, the flight of the Byzantine army, and the arrival of the Musalmân forces in Damascus, have

become known. For these propitious events and glorious victories due thanks have been offered to God. Thou who art Abu O'baydah, knowest that yet many forts and strongholds in that country remain to be conquered; at pre ent, however, it is required that thou shouldst for awhile abide in Damascus so as to afford the necessary rest to the victorious army after the fatigues and troubles of war. Let it be further known that now a letter has arrived from Sa'd B. Abu Woqqâss with the information that the Persian army has assembled in a locality named Galûlâ, and we entertain hopes that He who causes affairs to prosper will enable us to vanquish that multitude as well as the other infidels and malefactors.' When this letter reached Abu O'baydah he remained in Damascus and engaged in the administration of the portion of Syria which had fallen under the sway of the adherents of Islâm and which thereon prospered by his clemency.

March of Abu O'baydah to Aylyâ; and of O'mar to Syria; and Narrative of some other Events of those Days.

Some chroniclers have narrated that after the army of Islâm had for some time sojourned in Damascus in comfort and tranquillity, an order, to which obedience is due, arrived from the residence of the Khalifate that Abu O'baydah should engage in the conquest of Aylyâ, which is now known by the name of the Holy House [*i.e.*, Jerusalem]. Accordingly, before Abu O'baydah himself marched, he despatched A'mru B A'ass with a numerous force in that direction. A'mru having according to the injunction of Abu O'baydah marched to his destination, reached the vicinity of Aylyâ after having duly traversed the distance. The inhabitants of that blessed locality had fortified it, and when A'mru laid siege to it, they sent one of the Christian U'lamâ to A'mru to ask for his name, who on learning it said. 'Withdraw thy hand from the siege and spare thyself further toil, because this city will be conquered by that happy

individual whose name consists of three letters, namely, O'm [a]r, whereas thine, being A'mru, consists of four.' Meanwhile Abu O'baydah marched from Damascus with his brave army and reinforced his friends, but sent immediately a letter to the Battâryqah and the inhabitants of Aylyâ, the contents of which were as follows: 'If you make profession of our religion, or pay the capitation-tax, I shall not injure you, but in the contrary case I shall send men to attack you who love more to be killed for the sake of their religion, than you love to eat pork or to drink wine.' Abu O'baydah halted a few days in the place where he was, but when he heard that the population of Aylyâ was intent on resistance and strife, he joined A'mru. After the arrival of Abu O'baydah a numerous army sallied forth from the town and was drawn up in battle array opposite to the army of Islâm; one hour's conflict, however, sufficed for killing countless numbers of it and for putting the rest to flight, who took refuge in the fortress. Hereon the Musalmâns again continued the siege with as much energy as possible, so that when the population saw for a certainty that the army of Islâm was not disposed to break the circle it had made around the fortress, a messenger was sent to Abu O'baydah, and delivered to him the following communication: 'We have arrived at the conclusion to make peace with you and to surrender the city, but as we place no trust nor faith in your words, difficulties will not arise if the prince of the companions [of the prophet], namely, O'mar B. Alkhattâb, will pass over to these regions that we may make a covenant of obedience and submission to him.' Abu O'baydah thereon communicated the state of affairs to the luminous mind, and when O'mar had ascertained the truth of the circumstances, he held a consultation with the notables, the Anssâr and the Mohâjer, concerning the propriety of remaining at Madinah or departing [to Jerusalem]. O'thmân B. O'ffan advised him to stay, but when O'mar asked A'li B. Abu Ṭtâleb, the seat of vicarship, he was of a contrary opinion, preferring departure to staying. O'mar, who had from the beginning foreseen the issue of

the negotiations, ordered A'bbâs B. A'bdu-l-muttalleb to pitch tents outside the city for a camp, to which the victory-boding companions quickly crowded. When the troops had been collected, O'mar departed to the Holy House [*i.e.*, Jerusalem], leaving A'li the Commander of the Faithful to be his lieutenant in Madinah. After he had in due time entered Syria, Abu O'baydah, having been informed of his approach, got ready for him an Arab charger and white robes as presents, and then went to meet him. In the 'Târikh-i A'athum Kûfi,' it is recorded that when Abu O'baydah had come near O'mar, he saw him riding on a camel, dressed in a woollen robe made by himself, with a sword hanging from his shoulder and an arrow by his side In the 'Tarjumat Mostaqassa' it is related that at the time Abu O'baydah waited on O'mar he saw him leading a camel by the bridle and a slave riding it Abu O'baydah and the notables of the army who accompanied him, beholding this scene with amazement, asked why the Commander of the Faithful was walking and the slave riding. O'mar replied: 'I am sharing this camel with the slave, and now it is his turn to ride and mine to walk.' It is related that Abu O'baydah requested O'mar to don the white garments and to mount the horse he had brought. O'mar complied, but after awhile put away the dress, and, alighting from the horse donned his own old clothes and mounted his camel, saying 'I perceived vanity enter my mind after being thus arrayed, and knew it to be an inspiration of Satan.' Abu O'baydah and Yazid B. Abu Sofiân then excused themselves, saying that if the Amir of the Faithful had retained the clothes it would have been more appropriate to the dignity of the Khalifah. O'mar then replied to their remark with a few kind words of admonition.

When they had arrived at the camp and rested themselves, Abu O'baydah sent a messenger to the inhabitants of Aylyâ to inform them of the arrival of O'mar, whereon the people of the town sent to O'mar an Arab, whose nickname was Abu-l-ja'd,[15] to arrange matters concerning the

[15] Father, *i.e.*, possessor, of curls.

payment of a capitation tax, on condition that no one be compelled to emigrate and leave his country. O'mar, having granted the request of the inhabitants of the Holy House, ordered a treaty to be written on that subject, which having been given to them, the Christians opened the gates and the Musalmâns entered the city. When the time for prayers had arrived, O'mar said to the Muedhdhin Ballâl, who had during the Khalifate of Abu Bakr gone to Syria and settled there: 'It is a long time since I have heard thy Adhân [*i.e.*, call to prayers]; how would it be if thou wert in this noble country and pleasant region to utter the shout for prayers?' Ballâl replied: 'I have decided with myself not to pursue this occupation after separating from the apostle—u. w. bl.—but as obedience to the order of the Khalifah is one of our duties, I cannot excuse myself from submitting to it.' When Ballâl rose and began to shout the Adhân, the companions [of the prophet] destined for felicity, remembering their association with his holy and prophetic lordship, were moved and wept.

Hemistich: The melody of the Bulbuls again proclaims thy love.

But those of the friends of the apostle of Allah who wept more than all the others—being consumed by the fire of separation, and exhausted in the desert of longing and fatigue—were Abu O'baydah B. Jurrâh and Moa'adh B. Jabal. When Ballâl had finished his call to prayers, O'mar, rising to hold them, stood in front of the notables, each of whom had the following words on his tongue:

To be led by thee in every prayer
Is my desire as long as I live

After finishing the prescribed orisons he praised and gave thanks to the Most High, and said: 'The city of the Holy House, which is one of the most honoured in the inhabited quarters of the world, has, without trouble and without the misery of bloodshed, fallen under the sway of the adherents of the prince of existing beings—the most excellent benedictions and salutations to him—may the leader of Divine grace be our associate; we have held our Friday prayers,

which are a firm buttress of Musalmânship, in the farthest mosque, which stands not in need of description.' When O'mar had terminated the most important affairs of Syria, he appointed Abu O'baydah to be the Governor-General of the whole country, and returned to the abode of his own dignity and honour; but Abu O'baydah, Moa'adh B. Jabal, and several other good and righteous men, died three years after the conquest of Aylyâ of the plague which raged in Syria, departing to the upper paradise—may Allah be pleased with them.

Khâled B. Alwolyd departs from Syria to Madinah.

On this subject a number of traditions have been commingled, the gist of which is that, when by the efforts and activity of Khâled B. Alwolyd the adherents of Islâm had wrested a portion of Syria from the grasp of the Byzantines, the news spread all over Arabia, whereon a famous poet wrote a Qassidah on the subject, and performing the long journey, recited it to Khâled, who, discerning the elegance of the composition and appreciating its beautiful versification, presented him with the sum of ten thousand dirhems. Some persons, imbued with envy, of which despicable feeling perhaps death alone could divest them, reported this act to O'mar, telling him that Khâled, having put his hands into the public treasury of the Musalmâns, sometimes presents ten thousand dirhems to a poet, sometimes a hundred thousand, and also provides a woman with a dowry Considering what had been reported to him, O'mar thought also of the destruction of Mâlek B. Nuyrah, and the marriage of the daughter of Mojaa'h,[16] whereon he despatched the following order to Abu O'baydah: 'Khâled B. Alwolyd, having thought it licit to spend the property of the adherents of Islâm, and to squander what belongs to them, is to be deprived by thee of one-half of his property, and to be forthwith sent to Madinah.' When the command (to which obedience is due) of his lordship the refuge of the

[16] Both these acts of Khâled have been previously mentioned and described in detail.

Khalifate had reached Abu O'baydah, he acted up to it with such strictness that he left one sandal to Khâled and confiscated the other, Khâled himself consenting with great pleasure and the utmost readiness to surrender one-half of everything he possessed, saying: 'I am not one of those who, following the inspirations of their own nature, would resist the Amir of the Faithful.' After Abu O'baydah had incorporated into the public treasury one-half of the property of Khâled, the latter departed to Madinah, and having arrived in that honoured locality, was made happy by attaining the honour of waiting upon O'mar, who, nevertheless, issued orders to deprive him of one-half of his remaining property, whereon forty thousand dirhems more were taken from him and disbursed into the public treasury of the Musalmâns. During the fifth year of the Khalifate of O'mar, Khâled was overtaken by a lethal disease, and said in the agony of it: 'I have during a number of years been fighting and striving for the religion, and expected to be honoured by attaining the dignity of martyrdom, but could not enjoy that happiness despite the numerous wounds and blows I have received.' He then exclaimed: 'I am now astonished and sorrowful because I must leave the world and meet death in this manner.' In that malady he indited the following as his last will: 'My arms, horse and my slave are to be used in war, because I love nothing more than to exalt the word of Allah.' When the property he possessed was ascertained after he had died, nothing more could be found except the just-mentioned horse and arms. This having been reported to O'mar, he said: 'May God the Most High and Glorious have mercy on the father of Suleimân, for we imagined his circumstances to be different from those which have been now revealed.' When the bier of Khâled was taken up, his sister Fattimah, the daughter of Wolyd Moghyrah, wept bitterly and aloud for her dear brother; and although the lamentations of unhappy persons were distasteful to O'mar, many deplored the death of Khâled, whereon he said: 'There is no harm in the relatives of Moghyrah shedding tears for Khâled, pro-

vided they do not rend their clothes, do not wail aloud, and do not strike their cheeks; because no one was more ready to obey those in command than himself.' It is said that one day O'mar saw the mother of *Khâled singing laudatory* verses about her son, and weeping bitterly. He asked: 'Who is she, and why is she crying?' Being told that this was the mother of Khâled B. Alwolyd weeping for the loss of her son, he said: 'I have seen no woman who had given birth to a man like Khâled, but a blessing is ignored when at hand, though appreciated when lost.'

MOTHANNA B. HÂRETHAH GOES TO MADINAH. ABU O'BAYDAH B. MASU'D THAQFY IS APPOINTED TO WAGE WAR AGAINST THE PROFESSORS OF INIQUITY, AND RECORD OF SOME OTHER AFFAIRS

When information concerning the death of Abu Bakr had reached the Persians, they made preparations for waging war against Mothanna B. Hârethah Alshaybâny, who had for some time watched their proceedings on the part of the Musalmâns, and was at that time victorious in the Arabian E'râq. On this occasion Mothanna dreamt a dream, in which a man handed him a standard, saying 'The power of the Persians has come to an end, and the period of the destruction of their monarchy has arrived! Depart to O'mar and ask him to give thee reinforcements to vanquish and annihilate the enemies of the religion.' When Mothanna awoke, he assembled some notable men and said to them: 'I have dreamt a certain dream'—narrating it to them—'what am I to do? Must I ask assistance from O'mar the Commander of the Faithful or not? What is your opinion concerning this subject?' They advised him to ask for aid, and he departed with some of his most intimate friends to Madinah; but they lost their road while travelling and were confused. In that emergency they heard an invisible herald reciting some verses on the exaltation of the standards of Islâm and the defeat of the adherents of unbelief and darkness. Mothanna with his companions then followed in the direc-

tion of the voice of the herald, and, marching as quickly as possible, reached Madinah after traversing the necessary distance. When they had arrived in that pleasant locality, Mothanna inquired for O'mar, and having been informed that he was sitting in the mosque of the prophet with some Mohâjer, Anssâr and other pious followers, he betook himself there, and, entering the place, uttered a salutation, to which O'mar replied, and then asked. 'Who art thou?' He replied: 'I am Mothanna B. Hârethah Alshaybâny.' O'mar continued: 'Thou art welcome! I have heard about thee and know thy character. Tell me, now, where thou comest from, and what is the reason of thy arrival?' Mothanna replied: 'We were, during the Khalifate of the successor of the apostle of God, engaged in waging war against the Persians, and having wreaked vengeance upon our foes, have attained some of our aspirations. After the demise of his lordship, however, it has become known that the Persians are engaged in making preparations for war, and now I have arrived with the request that some adherents of Islâm, with some companions of the apostle—u. w. bl.—may be despatched by thee to the Arabian E'râq to reinforce the valiant Musalmâns who are there, and to aid them in conquering the residence of the kings of Persia.' O'mar replied: 'I have heard thy words, and I grant thy request. Relate to me now some of the peculiarities of the Arabian E'râq.' Mothanna replied: 'The land of E'râq is a country noted for prosperity and blessings. It has a multitude of cultivated fields, is replete with wealth, property and sheep. The soil of that country consists of gold, which is so plentiful that it is despised and accounted to be equal in value to dirt.' Fârûq asked: 'What is the character of the inhabitants?' Mothanna continued: 'Although they are of strong build and high stature, they are very evil-hearted and cowardly.' After O'mar had made inquiries, he ascended the pulpit, and after giving thanks to God, as well as salutations to Mohammed the elect—u. w. bl—he addressed the congregation as follows: 'O ye people, God the Most High and Glorious

has promised that the dominions of the kings of Persia and the possessions of the Qayssars of Byzantium will be conquered by the efforts of His people, and that the treasuries and concealed wealth of these two dynasties will be distributed among them. You are now, courageously hoping for conquest, to depart to the kingdom of the Sasanians, because spoils cannot be gained without the inconvenience of journeying, and felicity cannot be attained without suffering hardships. Do not be tardy and apathetic in this matter, because religious wars lead to the attainment of aspirations, and are in accordance with the injunctions of the prophet, leading to the abode of salvation.' When the Qoraish chiefs had been informed of the pomp, greatness and exorbitant multitudes of the Persians, they imagined that the words, 'they are endued with mighty strength in war,' in the glorious Qurân, referred to them, and being dismayed by the words of O'mar, the defenders of Islâm withdrew their tongues into the palate of silence, and replied nothing. After awhile, however, Abu O'baydah B. Masu'd Althaqfy, the father of Mukhtâr, some of whose exploits will be recorded in the beginning of the third part of this work, said: 'O Amir of the Faithful, the first man who responds to thy wish and obeys thy command will be myself. I and my relatives shall start at any time thou desirest, with the greatest readiness, pleasure and sincerity, girding our loins to wage war for the religion.' Then Salytt B. Qays, the Anssâri, who was one of those who had fought in the battle of Bedr, likewise assented to the injunction of O'mar. After these two blessed individuals many others agreed to participate in this important enterprise, and requested O'mar to appoint one of the Mohâjer or Anssâr to command them. O'mar replied: 'He is to be your commander who has forestalled you on the path of obedience, namely, Abu O'baydah B. Masu'd, and he is one of the number of pious followers.'[17]

[17] Tâbi, or followers, were so called because they followed after the Ashâb, or companions, who had come into immediate contact with the prophet, associating with him.

It is said that at the time when O'mar was inciting the Musalmâns to wage war against the Persians, and had appointed Abu O'baydah to the important post of commander, A'mru B. Hazm and Mothanna B. Hârethah were engaged in the plains of E'râq in repelling the opponents and enemies in the same way as during the Khalifate of Abu Bakr. At any rate, when O'mar had given the post of commander to Abu O'baydah, he said to him: 'I have not appointed Salytt B. Qays, who is more deserving than thyself, commander of the army because he is too hasty in fighting, and, knowing this, I feared that he might bring disaster upon the army of Islâm. Thou must, however, respect and honour Salytt, consult him in every important affair, and not deviate from his opinion, which will undoubtedly be fraught with utility.' After O'mar had given this advice to Abu O'baydah, he took leave of him and started him on the march to Arabian E'râq with his well-prepared army. When Abu O'baydah had arrived in that country, he hastened, together with A'mru B. Hazm, the Anssâri, and Salytt B. Qays and Mothanna B. Hârethah, to attack Jâbân, whom Rastam Farrakhzad had appointed commander of the army of Khorâsân and E'râq, and whom he had sent with two thousand men to watch the frontiers. After the two antagonistic forces had encountered each other, they drew themselves up in battle array, and, according to the tradition of Aa'thum Kûfi, the first man who placed his foot into the lists of the contest and asked for a champion was Jâbân; whereon four of the Mohâjer, who successively fought duels with him, attained martyrdom. Abu O'baydah then said to Salytt: 'The Anssâr will effect nothing to-day. They are greatly afraid.' Hereon Salytt extolled and praised the Anssâr people for their courage, and asked them: 'Who of you will enter the lists and make an end of this Persian?' Then a man of the Anssâr, Muntzar B. Fudzah by name, sallied forth to attack Jâbân, and both fought with their lances till at last Muntzar wounded Jâbân, and, having prostrated him from his saddle to the ground, sat down on his breast to separate

his head from the vehicle of his body. At that moment Jâbân exclaimed: 'There is no God but Allah!'[18] Muntzar then desisted from his purpose, and Jâbân said: 'Do not slay me, and I shall give thee a slave-boy with a bond-maid, the like of which none of thy friends possess.' Muntzar then rose from the breast of Jâbân, and having mounted him behind himself, rejoined his friends. The people of the Rabya'h tribe then asked him: 'Knowest thou thy prisoner?' Muntzar replied: 'He is a man of yonder army.' They continued: 'He is Jâbân, the commander of this army and governor of this province. What has he promised thee that thou hast spared his life?' He said: 'A slave boy and girl.' They rejoined: 'If thou hadst asked him for a hundred boys and girls he would have given them to thee.' Muntzar continued: 'Having agreed to this condition I cannot break it, and have no excuse for doing so.' Jâbân thereon apologized, gave to Muntzar two boys with two girls, and having been enrolled among the number of Musalmâns, attained a high dignity and position. From the context of the work of Aa'thum Kûfi, it appears that this event took place during the government of Yazdejerd [King of Persia], but in the 'Tarjumat Mostaqassa' the affairs of the army of Islâm [*sic*] after the conflict with Jâbân are narrated as follows After these events the Persians marched to Hirah for the purpose of settling the administration of the kingdom, which had at that time fallen into such disorder that a man was appointed Amir one day and removed the next, till the time when the turn of Yazdejerd's reign arrived, whereon the monarchy was destroyed. The writer of these pages states that on this point the tradition of Aa'thum Kûfi is not void of improbability, because we read in trustworthy books that not only Jâbân's profession of Islâm, but the battle of the bridge and the death of Abu O'baydah B. Masu'd Thaqfy, had taken place during the time of the government of [the queen] Tûrân [Dukht] and before the accession of Yazdejerd to the throne of Persia.

[18] The formula of the profession of Islâm begins with these words.

THE BATTLE OF THE BRIDGE, MARTYRDOM OF ABU O'BAYDAH THAQFY, AND NARRATIVE OF SOME OTHER AFFAIRS.

It is recorded in some histories that when the capture of Jâbân and his subsequent profession of Islâm had been brought to the notice of Rastam, who was the Amir of Amirs and supreme governor of the kingdom of Persia, he despatched Jâlynûs with a great multitude to wage war against the Musalmâns, while he himself, having collected a numerous army from Fârs, Khozestân and Khorâsân, remained in Madâin, waiting from what direction the bride of victory and conquest might arrive to display her charms upon the throne. When Abu O'baydah heard of the approach of Jâlynûs, he made haste to meet him. When the two armies encountered each other and had been drawn up in battle array, a sanguinary conflict took place wherein Jâlynûs was routed and returned to Madâin. Some have alleged that after the flight of Jâlynûs, Neshrân, the Governor of Adharbâyjan, whilst others assert that Mardânshâh, the chamberlain, who possessed a strong white elephant, marched with Rastam against the Musalmâns It is recorded in the 'Ghoniah' that when Jâlynûs had after his defeat, abased and disappointed, left the battlefield, he went to Rastam, who then inquired for a man capable of resisting the Arabs, and having been told that Bahman Jâdû was worthy to undertake the task, he issued orders that Bahman should march against the Arabs with a number of grandees and Persian officers; he also commanded Jâlynûs to take charge of the vanguard of the army, and in case he should this time again be put to flight and come to Bahman, the latter was to wreak vengeance upon him for his treachery with the gory scimitar. When the Bani Sâsân [*i.e.*, the Persians] had arrived near the Euphrates and had encamped opposite to the Musalmâns, Abu O'baydah, who was the Amir of the army of Islâm, ordered Ebnu-ssalat [*sic*], the companion of Qaysu-n-nâttef [*sic*], to construct a bridge across which the victory-boding army might pass and attack the opponents. Although

Salytt B. Qays dissuaded Abu O'baydah from this undertaking, and adduced cogent arguments why the army should not cross the river, he was not listened to, so that at last the bridge was built and the army of Islâm passed over it. When the Persians witnessed the eagerness and temerity of the Arabs, they were astonished, commenced to arrange their centre, right and left flank, and erected the standard of Gâvah, which became known as the standard of Gawyân,[19] and is described in the 'Ghoniah' as having been the Kesri [Chosroes] banner made of tiger-skins, measuring eight cubits in breadth and twelve in length. When both armies had terminated arranging their lines, the first man who stepped into the lists of conflict was Salytt B. Qays, the Anssâri, who, reciting verses in the rajaz measure, rushed against the lines of the enemy, prostrated the champion whom he had attacked, but received himself many wounds which so enfeebled him that he returned to his friends. On this occasion a detachment of the enemy advanced further with an extremely white elephant, who had a howdah made of brocade on his back. A Persian officer, Shehryâr by name, was with several friends seated upon the elephant, who, having killed some men with his trunk and trampled others under foot, rushed about roaring and trumpeting in every direction. This spectacle having dismayed the army of Islâm, Abu O'baydah, having been apprised of the fact, asked what was the lethal portion of this animal's body. Some people replied: 'Its long waist is the mortal spot.' Salytt B. Qays, who had divined the intention of Abu O'baydah, advised him not to have anything to do with this beast of evil omen. Abu O'baydah, however, unwilling to pay attention to his words, exclaimed: 'I salute the tomb of Muhammad, and I salute his companions.' Then he alighted from his horse, assailed the elephant, and cut the girth, so that the people sitting on the animal all fell to the

[19] This famous standard was called 'Darfesh Gawyany,' and is described in the Book of Kings, i.e., 'Shâhnâmah.'—See also note, p. 232 of Part I., vol. ii, of this work.

ground. The elephant then aimed with his trunk at Abu O'baydah, which he, however, cut in two. but stumbled when intending to retreat to his friends, and the elephant, falling on his breast, crushed him, so that he forthwith bade adieu to life. '*To Allah we belong, and unto Him we shall surely return.*'[20] It is on record that in the night before the battle the wife of Abu O'baydah had dreamt that she saw a man descending from heaven holding a vessel full of some beverage in his hands, and Abu O'baydah with a number of professors of Islâm, whom that pious woman knew, drinking from that vessel. When she awoke she recounted this vision to her husband, and Abu O'baydah replied · 'The interpretation of this dream is that I and those who have drunk with me shall quaff the beverage of martyrdom.' Then he said to the chief officers of the army 'If I am slain in the battle, let such and such a one take the command after me, and if he fall, such and such a one' Thus he enumerated all who had been destined to attain martyrdom, and added 'Should all these be killed, then Mothanna B. Hârethah is to take command of the army' When Abu O'baydah, and those who had after him grasped the standard of command, had, fighting, departed to the gardens of paradise, the Musalmâns had no longer any strength to offer resistance, and retreated Then Mothanna B Harethah, upon whom the commandership devolved, sent O'rwah B. Zaid Hanttal to post himself at the head of the bridge for the purpose of hindering the fugitives to crowd on it, Mothanna himself taking up his position with a small detachment between them and the Persians, and fighting valiantly till they had crossed the bridge

According to some traditions, a certain Musalmân, seeing that the army was routed, and thinking that if it were impeded from crossing the Euphrates it would be under the necessity to cease fleeing, and continue to fight the infidels, destroyed the bridge. When the fugitives reached the bank and saw no bridge, they threw themselves into the river,

[20] Qurân, ch. ii. 151

so that those who had escaped from the sword lost their lives in the water. Some narrate that when Mothanna B. Hârethah had assumed the command of the army, the remnant of the victory-boding forces again attacked the Persians, and fought with such effect that they scattered them all over the plains. According to one tradition, four thousand of the adherents of Islâm, having been killed or drowned, departed to the next world. After this defeat Mothanna B. Hârethah Shaybâny crossed the river with all his troops, encamped in a place called Tha'lebah, and despatched a letter by O'rwah B. Zaid to O'mar to inform him of the state of affairs. Fârûq wept aloud, and said to O'rwah: 'Return quickly and tell Mothanna to take rest in the place where he is, until my reinforcements reach him.' O'rwah accordingly went back, and O'mar summoned the Arab tribes, and in a short time Mukhanaf B. Salym Azdi arrived at the seat of the Khalifate with eight hundred men of his own tribe, Hassyn B. Moa'bd B. Zarârah with one thousand men of the Bani Tamym, and A'dy B. Hatim Ttây with a great multitude of his tribe, and Mundhar B. Hussyn with a considerable crowd of the Bani Monyah, and Ans B. Hallâl with numbers of the Bani Mohr B. Qâsett. When all these forces had arrived in Madinah, O'mar appointed Jaryr B. A'bdullah Bakhly, who was decorated with the ornaments of shrewdness and bravery, to command them, whereon they marched to E'râq. In due course of time Jaryr arrived in Tha'lebah and encamped with Mothanna B. Hârethah. They then marched together to Hirah, whence they sent out detachments to plunder and to lay waste the surrounding country. The news of these proceedings having reached Madâin, Tûrândukht sent with the approbation of Farrahzâd [the general] Mohrân B. Mahruyah and twelve thousand brave men to attack Jaryr B. A'bdullah. When the notables of the Musalmâns obtained cognizance of this expedition, they collected their scattered forces and waited to see what the future would reveal. When Mohrân B. Mahruyah arrived in those regions, Jaryr B. A'bdullah proceeded to encounter him

with his troops ready for combat. When the two armies had approached each other, Mothanna B. Hârethah, who was on the right flank, attacked the left of the enemy, and the fire of battle having been kindled, the army of the Persians having drawn out the hand of conflict from the sleeve of bravery, commenced the fray with such effect that the position of the army of Islâm became untenable and it retreated; whereon Mothanna became impatient, and shouted: 'O Musalmâns, do not reap the shame of flight, but join me, for I am Mothanna B. Hârethah!' The warriors being thus incited, assembled in the shadow of his banner, while A'dy B. Hâtim impelled the men of the left wing to fight, and Jaryr B. A'bdullah displayed the utmost bravery in steadying the centre of the army, so that at last all the troops, hoping for victory, had recourse to their scimitars. Mohrân B. Mahruyah, who was celebrated for his dexterity in shooting arrows and wielding the sword, had personally engaged in the fight, but was, according to the tradition of the author of the 'Ghoniah,' thrown to the ground from his horse by a lance-thrust from Mundhar, whereon his head was severed from his body by Jaryr; according to the statement, however, of Abu Hanifah Dinwari, Mothanna B. Hârethah had slain that obstinate fellow. When the Persian warriors beheld Mohrân prostrate and dead on the battle-ground, they despaired of gaining the victory, and ultimately became so demoralized that they fled. Hereon A'bdullah B. Salym Allazdy and O'rwah B Zaid Alttây went in pursuit of the fugitives, slaying and capturing numbers of them, whilst some succeeded in reaching Madâin in the worst plight. When Mohrân had with the Persian grandees departed to the abode of perdition, the Musalmâns plundered and devastated the Arabian E'râq, not ceasing for a moment to accumulate wealth and to make prisoners. At that time Mothanna was informed by some inhabitants of the country that there was at no great distance a locality called Baghdâd, where one day every month great crowds assembled from the surrounding districts, and merchants arrived for

the purpose of transacting business, selling and purchasing goods, so that if the army of Islâm were to plunder the mart of Baghdâd they could accumulate wealth enough to spend the rest of their lives in affluence and comfort. After obtaining this information the army marched into the district of Anbâr, where the people took refuge in a fort, after besieging which Mothanna granted quarter to the commander of it. The Governor of Anbâr then waited on Mothanna and was made happy by being allowed to kiss the hand of Mothanna, who then privately spoke to him as follows: 'My intention is to plunder the bazâr of Baghdâd, and I expect thee to send guides with the army of Islâm to show the way, so that we may on the market-day spoil the business of buying and selling. I, moreover, desire thee to construct a bridge across the Euphrates, that I may pass over it with the army and ravage the place by its aid.' The Governor of Anbâr acted as he had been bidden, so that the army whose war-cry was victory suddenly made its appearance on the appointed day in the market. Then all the merchants of Fârs, of Ahwâz, of Khozistân, and of the surrounding districts, who had left their homes for the sake of gain, took to their heels, so that much ready cash and property, which the swiftly running courier of the imagination would despair to enumerate, fell into the hands of the army. The plundered merchants betook themselves to Madâin, and, assembling at the court of the daughter of Kesra, complained of the injustice done to them. Meanwhile the news arrived from other quarters that Muyd B. Quttbah Ala'jly and O'ttbah B. Ghazwân had, at the instigation of O'mar, obtained possession of the land-tax of several places in Persia, and were disposing thereof. The prevalence of the Arabs having dismayed the minds of the grandees of Persia, the daughter of Kesra, who was at that time reigning, and whose power had been impaired by the presence of the Arabs, now ordered Rastam Farrahzâd, whom Abu Hanifah calls Rastam Hormuz in his chronicle, to gird the loins of vengeance against the Arab army, and to draw the sword of valour from its scabbard. Rastam

being displeased with this injunction, privately expressed himself as follows to some notables and great men of Persia: 'All this confusion and distress has befallen our country because all our power and authority are in the hands of a woman:

> 'No dignity remains in a household
> In which hens are crowing like cocks'

The above words having taken effect, the grandees of Persia determined to find one of the progeny of Parviz, and to seat him on the throne of dominion. After a great deal of search and inquiry, the [surviving] concubines and maids of Kesra pointed out to them Yazdejerd B Shehryâr, who was leading a despondent life in the province of Esttakhar Fârs. This having been ascertained to be really the case, the notables of the kingdom of Persia and the chiefs of the people rejoiced, and despatched couriers in search of Yazdejerd, who thereon started on the wings of celerity, arrived in due time at Madâin, and, having been installed on the couch of dominion, took his seat on the throne of Naushirwân the Just.

Yazdejerd B. Shehryâr sends Rastam to attack the Musalmâns, and Sa'd B. Woqqâss marches to Qâdesyah.

When Yazdejerd B. Shehryâr had been established on the throne, he ordered the army to be concentrated, whereon such multitudes assembled in Madâin that the plains and mountains could scarcely hold them. When all the forces had been united at the residence of the king of Persia, Yazdejerd appointed Rastam Farrahzâd to be their commander-in-chief, ordered the doors to the treasures which had accumulated in Madâin during past centuries to be opened, distributed largesses to the simple and the gentle according to their various ranks, and sent letters to the inhabitants of the plain of E'râq, ordering them not to spare the life of a single Arab they could get hold of. The landholders and farmers of that country, having obtained cognizance of the state of affairs, left off negotiating for peace

with the Musalmâns, and began to kill them. The position of the Persians having thus gained strength, while that of the Arabs was somewhat weakened, Jaryr and Mothanna despatched a courier to Madinah, asking O'mar for instructions. O'mar was just about to start for Mekkah, and sent a reply to Mothanna and Jaryr, the contents of which were as follows: 'Your report has arrived, and the true state of the events in those parts has become known. If God the Most High and Glorious pleaseth, I shall, after my return from the Hejâz, do my utmost to reinforce the Musalmâns and those who are in the Arabian E'râq engaged in combating the Persians.' When O'mar had arrived in Mekkah and had terminated the ceremonies of the pilgrimage, he made haste to return to Madinah, and held a consultation, concerning the evil intentions of the opponents, with men of experience and firmness, whether he ought in his noble person himself to lead an army to Madâin, or to send it in command of a man of authority skilled in war. A'bbâs and A'li and Ttolhah—may Allah be pleased with them—who in the beginning of events foresaw the end of them, were of the latter opinion, and with their approval S'ad B. Abu Woqqâss was selected from among the blessed companions [of the prophet] to be the commander-in-chief of the Musalmân forces. Taking leave of Sa'd, O'mar advised him, saying: 'Thou art in every place where thou haltest, and in every locality from which thou startest, to send me information of the true state of affairs; and when thou reachest Qâdesyah thou art to encamp there, because that district is fertile and well fortified.' According to one tradition, Sa'd marched with four, and according to another with six, thousand men, and, having travelled from station to station, reached Qâdesyah. After Sa'd had departed, O'mar wrote a letter to Mûsa Asha'ri, who was the governor of some districts, to despatch reinforcements to Sa'd, whereon he sent Moghyrah B. Sha'bah with one thousand cavalry to Qâdesyah, and also Qays B. Hobyrah with as many men, despatching in his company also Hâshem B. O'tbah B. Abu Woqqâss and Sha'th B. Qays and Mâlek

Ashtar.—It is on record that twenty-nine men who had been present at Bedr were in the camp of Sa'd; moreover, three hundred warriors who had been in attendance on his holy and prophetic lordship at the time he conquered Mekkah; the sum total of the noble companions—m. A. b. pl. w. t.—amounting to nine hundred men.—It is narrated that Mothanna B. Hârethah Shaybâny had died before the arrival of Sa'd in Qâdesyah, and that the latter married his relict, whose name was Solma.

Most of the trustworthy historians narrate that when Yazdejerd B. Shehryâr had been informed of the arrival of the army of Islâm in Qâdesyah, he despatched an envoy to Sa'd B. Abu Woqqâss, asking him to send some of his notables to Madâin to tell him what they had to say. The request having been complied with, the following men, accompanied by many others, were sent to Madâin: Loqmân B. Moqarn, and Hanttalah B. Alrabyi' Alyamani, and Farhat B. Hasân, and A'dy B. Alsohal, and U'ttârid B. Alhajâb, and Asha'th B. Qays, and A'assum B. A'mru, and Moghyrah B. Shybah, and A'mru B. Ma'di Karab. These men arrived in due time at their destination. When they had reached the pavilion of Yazdejerd B. Shehryâr and the Persians had ascertained what they wanted, he admitted them to his presence. The Arabs thereon entered, dressed as they were in Yemeni cloaks, with small whips in their hands and nice sandals on their feet. According to the best-known tradition, the interpreter asked, by order of Yazdejerd, Moghyrah B. Shybah, whom Sa'd had appointed spokesman, what they were holding in their hands, and he replied: 'Whips.' This word [*sûtt*] means, however, in Persian, 'he is burnt' [*sûkht*]. Therefore Yazdejerd said: 'They have burnt Persia, may God the Most High and Glorious burn them!' In some books on the religious wars it is recorded that he thereon asked about the name of the sandals [*na'lyn*], and the interpreter said that in Persian this word means lamentation [*nâlah*]. Yazdejerd said. 'They have thrown lamentation into our country', and, addressing the Arabs, continued, 'O ye Arab people, the

Lord Most High has in the exuberance of His favour exalted us, and given us supremacy over the denizens of the world. The stiff-necked people of various portions of the inhabited quarter[21] have placed their heads upon the line of our behests, and have not withdrawn their feet from the circle of obedience to us. You were in our sight the smallest, the most despicable, and the basest of all nations. Some of you have been frequenting our realm as envoys, some as merchants, as mendicants, and destitute persons on account of famines, troubles, poverty, and the want of livelihood prevalent among them. When the Arabs, who live in deserts and feed on lizards, ate our wonderfully delicious victuals, drank our sweet water, and had worn our nice garments, they returned to their country and conveyed this information to the other Arabs, who have now entered our land in crowds, desirous of spreading the tenets of a new religion, and depriving us of the wealth which the Giver of all gifts has bestowed on us. The Arabs resemble the fox who had entered the garden of a man and delighted in eating his grapes. The owner of the garden took no notice of this depredation, saying to himself: "What damage can one fox do to this garden, which contains plenty of grapes and an abundance of fruit?" This fox departed at last from the garden, and informed his companions of the good luck which had befallen him, whereon multitudes of foxes entered the garden and began to ruin it. When the master of the garden became aware of this fact, he immediately blocked every outlet, and, punishing the foxes for their evil deeds, killed them all. I do not know any nation more wretched and uncivilized than you. If I like, I can deal with you as the owner of the garden has dealt with the foxes; but I am unwilling to act in the same way, because I am aware that misery, hunger, and the calamities of poverty have impelled you to undertake this bold enterprise. Now it will be proper for you to return to your country. I shall by way of mercy

[21] According to ancient notions, only one quarter of the world was inhabited, and the remaining three deserted

present you with corn sufficient to load all your animals; I shall give plenty of money and clothing to the Arabs, to send them back with glad hearts [to their country]. If they, however, demur to this proposal, my wrath will befall them in such a manner that not one of them will be able to escape alive from this country.' When Yazdejerd had terminated this harangue, Moghyrah B. Shybah said: 'I swear by God that the misery of the Arabs had attained such a height as to compel them to feed on the flesh of lizards, and that to avoid being starved to death they were burying each other alive. Some of them maintained life by eating carrion and drinking blood. If one of these persons was able to get hold of his own cousin, he would slay him to obtain possession of his property, considering the opportunity as great good luck. Our food was of the kind reported to the sovereign of the world [*i.e.*, to your majesty], while our garments consisted of the hair of camels and wool of sheep. We made no distinction between what is forbidden or allowed, nor between what is true or false. This was the state of affairs until God the Most High vouchsafed to bestow on us a noble prophet, with a book worthy of honour. Be furthermore aware that some of us accused him [*i.e*, the prophet] of falsehood, whilst others believed in him. Both parties contended with each other, first in speech and then with scimitars. At last, however, the professors of truth and sincerity vanquished their foes; those, however, of them who had escaped death followed the example of the saved portion, and made profession of the faith of his lordship. The command of this prince, based on the command of God, is that we should wage war against the opponents of our religion; he has also promulged with his wonderfully eloquent tongue that whoever of us is slain fighting for the religion, his dwelling will be in the paradise above, and that whoever remains alive will become the possessor of the treasures of this world. We invite thee to accept the brilliant [religious] law, and if thou assentest, no one shall invade thy country without [our] permission, and nothing will be exacted from thee

except the legal alms and one-fifth of any booty gained [for the public treasury]. If, however, the grace [of professing the faith] is not bestowed upon thee, thou must be prepared to pay the capitation tax, or else to fight.'

It is related in the 'Tarjumat' [translation] of Aa'thum Kûfi that, conversing with Yazdejerd, Moghyrah said to him also these words: 'The humiliation is, that when thou payest the capitation tax, thou wilt be standing with a whip above thy head.' Yazdejerd, incensed by these words, said. 'I never imagined that I would live long enough to hear such words from persons like you. It was my intention to be beneficent and liberal towards you, but as you are speaking in this manner to my face, I can give you nothing but earth.' Then he ordered a slave to bring a little earth into the assembly, but he brought a basket full. He told the boy after that to place the basket upon the head of the greatest and most respected of them, adding: 'Say to your commander: "I shall soon despatch an army which will slay thee with thy friends, and will bury you in the moat of Qâdesyah."' A'assum B. Amru Altamymy took the basket, whereon all the Arabs departed from the assembly of Yazdejerd. went back to their camp, and reported to Sa'd B Abu Woqqâss everything they had heard.—It is recorded in the 'Ghoniah' and in the abridgment of Ebn Jauzy, that the above conversation had taken place between No'mân B. Mundhar and Yazdejerd B. Shehryâr; according to the 'Tarjumat Mostaqassa,' however, and according to the history of Abu Hanifah Dinwari, conversations like the above had taken place between Moghyrah B. Shybah and Rastam Farrahzâd. Some historians, however, have impugned the correctness of both these traditions.

Abu Hanifah Dinwari and the majority of historians narrate that when Yazdejerd despaired of negotiating for peace, he despatched Rastam Farrahzâd with one hundred and seventy thousand men with lances and daggers to attack the Arabs. It is recorded in the history of Abu Hanifah Dinwari, that when Rastam arrived in Dyr Aa'ur

[monoculous convent] he encamped there, whereon Sa'd despatched Ttolhah B. Khowylad, who has been mentioned before in these pages, to make a reconnaissance with a detachment of other brave Arabs. They obeyed orders, and after marching awhile discovered the army of Rastam in the plain. The companions of Ttolhah said to him: 'Let us all return from this spot, and thou likewise.' Ttolhah rejoined: 'I shall certainly approach the Persian army and reconnoitre it' They said: 'We are of opinion that thou wilt become entangled with the Persian troops, and the result of this affair will be known.' Ttolhah continued: 'Fear and misgivings have overpowered your minds. Go wherever you like.' The detachment accordingly returned, and when the night set in Ttolhah entered the Persian camp, and, walking about, caught sight of a warrior whom the Persians reckoned to be equal to a thousand men; but he was asleep, and his horse tied by his side. Ttolhah hereon alighted from his charger, and attaching that of the warrior to his own, mounted again and departed from the camp of Rastam. When the warrior awoke he knew what had taken place, and immediately taking a fleet horse, hastened with two other men after Ttolhah, whom he actually overtook at dawn and attacked; but Ttolhah sent the Persian hero with one blow of his sword to the infernal regions, serving another man in the same way, and capturing the third, whom he mounted behind himself on his horse. When he reached the camp; and the professors of Islâm knew that he had returned safe and sound, they raised a great shout of the *Takbyr*, and he afterwards related his adventure to Sa'd. It is related that Rastam Farrahzâd had a skilled astrologer, who knew from astronomical indications and from the positions of the stars that the period was at hand for the Persian dynasty to be removed from the important position of sovereignty, and that the turn of the Arabs to occupy it had come; he therefore delayed hostilities, and remained inactive at Dyr Aa'ur during four months, but when he found himself under the necessity of waging war, he prepared his army for it.

The Battle of Qâdesyah. Death of Rastam Farrahzâd, and Flight of the Persian Army.

Copyists of histories and recorders of exploits state that when the Arab and Persian forces were on the point of encountering each other to fight, Sa'd B. Abu Woqqâss, who had been attacked by sciatica, ordered Amru B. Ma'di Karab and other champions noted for their eloquence and fluency of speech to go among the troops and to excite them for the coming struggle, while he himself remained, on account of the just-named disease, with his family in the citadel of Qâdesyah, waiting for the breeze of prosperity to blow On that day Abu-l-mahjan Thaqfy, with whom Esfendyâr and Rastam[22] would have been unable to cope in a fight with the lance, happened to be confined for some breach of discipline in the fort of Qâdesyah by order of Sa'd Rastam Farrahzâd was occupied in arranging the lines of his army, and ordered it to be divided into thirteen corps drawn out in the rear of each other in lines, while the Musalmâns had not more than three lines The brave warriors of both armies having determined to jeopardize their lives, submitted to Divine predestination, so that the battle commenced in which no other envoys moved except arrows, and [the warriors being ardent to fight] there was no necessity for permission to draw swords :

> What permission needs the sword to shed our blood ?
> The water flows by standing orders to the thirsty people

It is said that there were thirty-three elephants in the army of Rastam, all of which were in action on that day, each of them carrying on his back nearly twenty champions When the elephants were put in motion, the relict of Mothanna, whose name was Solma, and who happened on that occasion to be sitting on the rampart of the fortress by the side of her [new] husband, Sa'd B. Abu Woqqâss, look-

[22] Two ancient heroes mentioned in the 'Shâhnâmah,' or Book of Kings.

ing at the combat, said to him: 'On a day like this there would be need for one like Mothanna.' Then the jealousy of Sa'd impelled him to slap her on the face.—In that battle the elephants trampled numerous Musalmâns under foot, and the white one, who was perfect in fighting, had injured them greatly. That elephant had, during the time of Shâpûr Dhu-l-aktâf, been enrolled in the ranks of the royal elephants, and the writer of these lines declares that the words of Sheikh Nizâmi, in his 'Sikandar Nâmah,'[23] which are as follows, are not borne out by facts:

> There are three animals which in three abodes
> Are all short-lived and must perish soon:
> The horse in India, the elephant in Persia, and cat in China.

Cats live long in China and elephants in Persia, because [this white elephant was still alive, although] from the reign of Shâpûr till that of Yazdejerd nearly two centuries and a half had elapsed; it accordingly appears that an elephant is very long-lived, and perhaps attains a thousand years of age in Hindustân, while he lives two hundred in Persia, but Allah knows best the true state of the case.

It is related that when the champions of both sides had come forward, the Persians, having laid their hands upon their bows, poured a great rain of arrows upon the Musalmâns, wounding and capturing also many of them with javelins and the lasso. Qays B Hobyrah, witnessing this scene, said to Khâleb B Ghurfatt Khodzaa'yi, who was the Amir of Amirs. 'Circumstances require that we should unanimously attack the adherents of iniquity.' Khâled B Ghurfatt having approved of this opinion, hereon gave the signal for a general assault to the army of Islâm, who then attacked the partisans of wretchedness, and after using lances drew their swords, so that the fire of the conflict blazed. Zaid B. A'bdullah Tukhaghy, the bearer of one of the victorious banners, was, however, killed, and after him

[23] 'Book of Alexander,' an epic in the style of Firdausi, and divided into two parts. A well-known book, read still in our times. About Nizâmi see 'Persian Portraits,' Quaritch, 1887

also his brother Arttâ, who had taken the banner, attained martyrdom. Hereon A'assum B. A'mru, and A'mru B. Ma'dy Karab, and Jaryr B. A'bdullah Bakhly, with many other brave Arabs, assailed the opponents from various sides, breaking up the positions of their right and left flanks in such a manner that they penetrated into the centre. Rastam Farrahzâd's vein of bravery having become excited, he alighted from his charger, and being joined by great and noble Persians, hastened towards the Arab army, with success enough to stagger it to some extent. Abu-l-mahjan Thaqfy, whose feet were chained, was sitting in a corner on the top of the Kiosk, and witnessed the scene, and being impressed by the advantage the Persians were gaining, said to Berâm, the son of Sa'd: 'I hope thou wilt take off the chains from my feet, set me free, give me arms and the piebald horse of Sa'd, to enable me to deal with these unbelievers in such a manner that they will remember it till the day of the resurrection! I swear by God that, if I remain alive and return to this castle, I shall again put the fetters on my feet.' Berâm, trusting in his words, took off his bonds, gave him the arms and horse of Sa'd, whereon Abu-l-mahjan mounted the piebald charger, bandaged his face, and making his appearance on the battlefield, galloped now to the right and anon to the left, prostrating officers to the ground in every direction, without becoming known to any of the Musalmâns, who were amazed at the alacrity with which he dealt out his blows. All of a sudden, however, the eyes of Sa'd B. Abu Woqqâss alighted on him from the top of the Kiosk, and he asked: 'Who is this horseman?' The people replied: 'We know not more of him than thyself.' Sa'd continued: 'If it were customary to the apostle—u. w. bl.—to make his appearance in a battlefield like this, I would suppose this man to be his lordship.' Whilst, however, running about and prostrating men, he happened to approach the citadel of Qâdesyah, and Sa'd, looking well, exclaimed: 'The piebald horse on which this fellow is mounted belongs to me, and so does the cuirass he wears. His movements resemble those of Abu-l-mahjan,

and if I knew not that he is imprisoned in this Kiosk, I would say this man was Abu-l-mahjan.' At nightfall Abu-l-mahjan made his appearance at the gate of the fortress and shook the ring of it, whereon a man who was expecting him opened it; Abu-l-mahjan then alighted from his horse, laid aside his arms, and placed chains on his feet. Afterwards the wife of Sa'd asked her husband about the events of the battle, and he replied: 'The Musalmâns were on the point of being disgracefully routed, when God the Most High and Glorious conferred the favour upon us of sending a horseman to aid us, and I know not whether he was a Jinn or a human being, but he strengthened the courage of the Musalmâns, and made them victorious after they had become weak and despondent.' She then queried whether he had ascertained anything about his personality, and Sa'd replied: 'No; but his horse and arms resembled mine.' Hereon his wife narrated to Sa'd what Abu-l-mahjan had done from first to last, and then he went to Abu-l-mahjan, praised him, ordered his fetters to be taken off, and said: 'I have determined not to blame thee any more for drinking wine.' Abu-l-mahjan replied: 'I have also pledged myself no more to drink wine.' Some narrate that Abu-l-mahjan was confined in a room of the castle, and that when the drumming and shouting had increased, he asked a slave-girl what the state of the army of Islâm was. She replied that it appeared to be somewhat critical, whereon he became sorrowful, and having through the intervention of the said girl obtained from Solma, the wife of Sa'd, a horse and arms, he got rid of his fetters.

It is narrated that on the said day Sa'd B. Abu Woqqâss had made an arrangement with the Amirs and confidential officers that, on hearing the shout of the *Takbyr* the first time from the top of the castle, they should draw out the troops in lines, each man standing at his post and ready for the battle; on the second shout they were to lay their hands upon their bows, arrows, swords and lances; and at the third to make an onslaught upon the enemy. They acted according to this injunction, whereon the fire of the

battle was kindled. Ghâleb B. A'bdullah Azdy rushed out from the lines and shouted for a champion, whereon a prince wearing a diadem on his head advanced, but was captured by him and taken to Sa'd. A'assum B. A'mru, obtaining possession of the commissariat of Rastam, succeeded in conveying food and confectionery to Sa'd, who found them delicious, and sent them to the lines of his troops for consumption. O Allah, provide for us!—Meanwhile, A'mru B. Ma'di Karab entered the lists, and engaged in a duel with a celebrated Persian warrior; who discharged first an arrow against him, which cut the bow-string of A'mru in two; whereon A'mru, grasping the waist of his antagonist, succeeded in throwing him to the ground, against which he knocked him in such a manner that he broke his neck. When that humbled fellow had departed to hell with a broken neck, A'mru took possession of his turban and brocade-robe, shouting to his adherents: 'Act also thus!' But they replied: 'O father of the bull, who could act as thou hast acted?'

On that day the elephants attacked the right and the left wing of the Musalmâns, frightening the horses of the victorious troops, whereon A'assum B. A'mru rushed with some men of Yamâmah against the elephants, severed the girths with their swords, so that the men mounted on these animals, and fighting bravely, were slain. The millstone of war had from the first till the dormitory prayers been turning with the blood of friend and foe in that action which the chroniclers of religious wars have called 'the day of extermination.'—According to one tradition, five hundred Musalmâns quaffed on that day the potion of martyrdom. When, however, a part of the night had elapsed, both parties folded up the carpet of contention and craved for repose. At dawn of the next day, which they call 'the day of lamentation,' and when the sovereign of luminaries had raised his standard with a garment of blood, Sa'd threw a ray of consideration upon the interment of the martyrs of Qâdesyah; and according to a tradition of many historians, which would imply a deficiency in the account just given,

cavalry troops arrived on that day from Syria to reinforce the defenders of Islâm. The details of these events and explanations of these statements are that when Abu O'baydah B. Jurrâh had received the letter of O'mar, requesting him to aid Sa'd B. Abu Woqqâss, he engaged in recruiting rank-breaking forces, and ordered levies of the Rabya'h, of Misser, and brave troops from the Hejâz as well as from Yemen, to march for the purpose of reinforcing Sa'd and repelling the unhallowed foe at Qâdesyah. He entrusted the reins of the command of the victory-portending troops to the grasp of Hâshem B. O'tbah B. Abu Woqqâss, and ordered many notables, such as Qa'qa' B. A'mru, and Qays B. Hobyrah B. A'bdu-l-ghouth Almurâdy, and Hâreth B. A'mru-l-i'jly, and Ans B. Ala'bbâs to gird their loins of diligence and to accompany him. Therefore, Hâshem marched with six, and according to the tradition of Aa'thum Kûfi with ten, thousand men from Syria, and after travelling for awhile reached the battlefield on the above-mentioned day; whereon Qa'qa' B. A'mru, with the dust of the road still upon him, stepped into the lists and shouted for a champion, and was forthwith encountered by two Persian magnates, namely, Dhu-l-hâjeb and Bahman Jâdû, and knowing that one of the two was Bahman, he shouted: 'By the exploits of Abu O'baydah, and of Salytt, and of Qays, and of those who fought in the action of the bridge!' Then he drew forth his hand from the sleeve of attack and sent Bahman to hell, in which locality Qa'qa' soon caused also his companion Dhu-l-hajeb to join him. The Persian army having become dismayed and broken-hearted by the death of these two experienced and iron-shattering heroes, Qa'qa' remained standing on the battlefield, and again shouted: 'Is there any champion?' Whereon at last two antagonists the one Fyruzân by name, and the other Bandwân, having tied the fillet of impudence to their forehead, turned to Qa'qa', but also Hâreth B. Ttabyân issued forth from the ranks of the Musalmâns, and, joining Qa'qa', slew Bandwân, while Qa'qa' sent Fyruzân to his permanent abode. It is said that on that day Qa'qa' made thirty

onslaughts, in each of which he sent one of the Persians to the infernal regions, the last of them all being Barzachumihr Hamdâny. The author of the 'Ghoniah,' after narrating the exploits of Qa'qa', adds: 'Then Quttbah Ala'ur, the prince of Sejestân, came forth, and each of the two [just-mentioned Arabs] slew his antagonist.'

It is related that on 'the day of lamentation' one thousand of the monotheists attained martyrdom, while ten thousand of the unbelievers hastened in the direction of Jahannum. When the monarch of the host of stars had declined to the western regions, and the illuminated world had donned the garments of the dynasty of A'bbâs,[24] and after one-half of the dark night had elapsed, both armies, being exhausted and afflicted by the contest, ceased to fight, each retiring to its position, but leaving detachments to watch each other. On the third day, called 'the day of immersion,' the opposing armies again drew themselves up in battle array, attacking each other with their swords, and arrows which could pass through anvils, throwing dismay into the caskets of hearts, to verify the saying:

> Let every intelligent man know
> That there is a way from heart to heart.

Rivulets of blood flowed in the plain of the battlefield, and the millstone of war was put in motion by the gore of Arabs and Persians:

> Attach not thy heart to this revolving dome; for this machine
> Is a mill which is turned by the blood of dear people.

During the height of the battle and strife, when the elephants ran in every direction assailing and scattering the adherents of Islâm, Sa'd despatched a message to Qa'qa' and to his brother, enjoining them to make efforts to bring to an end the injuries which the white elephant, the largest of them, was inflicting. Those two heroes accordingly deprived the two eyes of the said elephant of the power of vision, and in the same way two other men

[24] Namely, black garments. Black was the colour of the Abbasides, white that of the Ommayads, and green that of the Fatimites, as descendants of Muhammad.

of the victorious army succeeded, by the orders of Sa'd, in disabling another elephant by means of their lances and arrows, whereon these two wounded elephants began to run, and, the others following them in their flight, broke the lines of the Persians, who were confounded by this catastrophe, and the roaring of both armies became so extraordinary that both ceased to fight that fourth night, which is called 'the night of howling.' Describing the action, the abridgment of Ebn Jauzy has also the following passage · 'They fought obstinately till the morning nearly dawned, and this night is called "the night of howling," because the people left off speaking and howled; and the retreat of the Musalmâns took place without the permission of Sa'd.' During that night the Arab tribes, such as the Bani Tamym, and Nakha, and Nahylah and Kindah, made onslaughts one after the other, by turns, till daylight, and when the sun rose, Qa'qa' B A'mru, turning the troops aside, said: 'Be one hour patient in fighting, because patience and victory are twins; endurance and conquest are companions.' On this occasion Qays B. Hobyrah, and Sha'th B. Qays, and A'mru B. Ma'dy Karab. and Ebn Dhi-l-sahmyn and Ebn Albard B. Alhalâli crowded around the standards and said: 'It is proper that the Persians should not be allowed to jeopardize their lives more than we, and to court death more eagerly than we!' The troops, having been encouraged by these words of the leaders, doubled their efforts, and fought from the morning of the fourth day till the first prayers. At that time a powerful wind commenced to blow, raising clouds of dust, and throwing to the ground the canopy which sheltered Rastam Farrahzâd, whereon he, unable to bear the heat of the sun, left his throne, and took refuge in the shadow of a mule, which was heavily loaded with silver and bullion On that occasion Qa'qa' approached the Persian commander with a detachment of troopers, one of whom, Halâl B. O'lqamah by name, cut the belt of the mule in whose shadow Rastam was sitting, so that the load fell on the back of Rastam; the pain he felt and the fear

of losing his life impelled him to throw himself into the river, which was flowing near. When Halâl saw a man with a costly diadem on his head, a gold-embroidered belt around his waist, and a large gold-encrusted cuirass on his breast, leap into the water, he knew who he was. Therefore he immediately followed Rastam, and having pulled him out by the feet from the water, severed his proud head from the body, placed it on the top of a spear, mounted the couch on which Rastam had been sitting, and exclaimed, 'I have killed Rastam, by the Lord of the Ka'bah!' Most historians are of opinion that Rastam was slain by Halâl, but Abu Hanifah Dinwari alleges that, according to some, Rastam, having been drowned in the river of Qâdesyah, surrendered his life to the owner [of hell]. It is recorded in the 'Tarjumat Mostaqassa,' that when Halâl B.'O'lqamah arrived he caught sight of Rastam in the battlefield, who discharged an arrow at him, whereon Halâl approached him, killed him with one blow, and plundered him. Sa'd presented Halâl with all the things he had taken, and among them the diadem of Rastam, valued at a hundred thousand dinârs. It is related in some traditions that Zohrah B. Juyah, who was pursuing the fugitives, encountered Jâlynûs, fought a duel with him, killed him with his poisoned sword, and gave the plunder which he had taken to S'ad, who, however, presented him with the whole of it, though it was worth seventy thousand dirhems; he ordered also that anyone killing an idolater might retain the booty taken from him. It is said that on this battlefield Zorâr B. Alkhattab obtained possession of two shields encrusted with jewels, and, not knowing their value, sold them for thirty thousand dirhems, whereas their actual value was two hundred and twenty-two thousand dirhems. It is related in the 'Mostaqassa' that after Rastam and Jâlynûs had been slain, the army of the enemies fled, the adherents of Islâm pursuing, capturing and slaying them, so that one hundred thousand of them were either killed or made prisoners, while three thousand men of the victorious army attained martyrdom. It is said that so many goods of all

kinds and cash in gold fell into the hands of the Musalmâns that the calculator of imagination would despair of enumerating them, and would confess his inability to do so. It is said that after the Persians had been routed, an Arab asked, 'Who will give me white pieces in exchange for red ones?' meaning, 'Who will give me silver for gold?' Two donkey-loads of camphor having fallen into the possession of the Arabs, they imagined it to be salt, but when they had learnt the truth they swapped it for salt, weight by weight.'

It is known for certain that in those times Yazdejerd had issued orders to post men from the gate of his castle in a line, as far as the camp of the army, who were to tell each other what was occurring, so as to convey to him information at the very moment anything happened to take place, and in this manner Yazdejerd B. Shahryâr was apprised of the deaths of Persian grandees as well as of the slaughter and captures in the army. Abu Hanifah states that before Rastam had been killed and the Persian army routed, Yazdejerd had despatched Tukhâr Khân, who was distinguished above his peers by intelligence and valour, to reinforce Rastam with numerous troops. When, however, he had encamped at Dyr Ka'b, he met some fugitives who informed him of the result of the battle. Tukhâr Khân then remained on the spot, and took charge of all the fugitives, but when this became known to the victorious army, it marched towards him, and when the interval between the two parties had become small, Tukhâr Khân, drew out his forces in battle array opposite to the Musalmâns, he himself stepping forth in the exuberance of his temerity, and shouting: 'A man! a man!' Zohayr B. Selym Alazdy then came out of the ranks of the combatants for the religion, and took his position opposite to Tukhâr Khân, who immediately alighted from his horse on beholding his antagonist, and Zohayr did the same. The duel began with wrestling, and Tukhâr Khân, having succeeded in prostrating Zohayr, sat down on his breast and drew a poniard; at that moment, however, the finger of Tukhâr Khân happened to get into the mouth of Zohayr, who

chewed it, so that his antagonist, unable to bear the pain, jerked himself up from the breast of Zohayr, whereon the latter, grasping the poniard of Tukhâr Khân, slew him therewith. He then took the horse, coat, cuirass and belt of his antagonist, and brought them to Sa'd, who ordered him to don the garments of Tukhâr Khân and to mount his horse. It is said that the first Arab who put a bracelet on his hand was Zohayr.

Qays B. Zobeir having attacked the right flank of the Persian army, prostrated Jalûs, who was its chief and commander. The Musalmâns then began to slaughter the unbelievers in all directions, and routed them in such a manner that everyone able to save his life by flight considered himself lucky, and never halted till he reached Madâin. When, by Divine favour, the standards of Islâm had been elevated, and those of the professors of unbelief and of darkness had been depressed, the companions of certainty prevailed over the followers of vanity, so that the saying, 'The truth will be exalted,' was verified. Sa'd B. Abu Woqqâss then despatched a messenger on a swift-footed camel with an account of the victory to Madinah, and in those days O'mar was in the habit of walking out nearly one farsakh in the direction of E'râq to make inquiries from travellers concerning the champions of the religion, and one day he happened to meet a fellow riding quickly whom he hailed from a distance, asking him for news. He replied: 'The Musalmans have become victorious, and the idolaters abased.' O'mar was rejoiced, returned in the company of the camel-rider to Madinah, and interrogated him. The man knew not who his questioner was, but on ascertaining it in Madinah, he afterwards asked O'mar: 'Commander of the Faithful, why hast thou not made thyself known to me?' He replied: 'There is no blame on thee.' He thereon received the letter and read it to the Musalmâns, whereon the simple and the gentle opened their mouths in praises to the Almighty, made prostrations of gratitude to God, and the rich distributed alms to persons worthy of them.

Sa'd Abu Woqqâss enters Madâin, and obtains Treasures.

After the Persian army had been routed and Rastam killed, Yazdejerd collected all the ready money and valuables he could, and departed with them from Madâin; and having sent his treasures in the direction of Nehâwend and the mountain-regions, travelled himself to Jalûlâ. When the ray of this news had shone upon the forehead of Sa'd's luminous mind, he ordered the whole victorious army to assemble on the bank of the Tigris, and tried to devise means for crossing it, because the enemy had removed the boats so that the river could not be easily passed. On this occasion several of the blessed men who had enjoyed the honour of being associated with his holy and prophetic lordship, and had thereby become prominent, said: 'It being our intention to spread the word of Allah, and to gain Divine approbation, it is possible that the water, which flows by celestial command, will not injure us.' Hereon, a victory-portending companion entered the water, and was followed by others, but despite the waves of the Tigris and the depth of the river-bed, the water never reached the breast-bands of the horses, so that all the warriors crossed the river, except one, mounted on a piebald horse When the Persians saw in what manner the Arab army had crossed the river, they raised shouts that demons had arrived. On that occasion Khôrzâd the brother of Rastam Farrahzâd, whom Yazdejerd had left in Madâin to be his lieutenant, arrived with regular troops and drew them up in battle-array opposite to the Musalmâns near the ferry. Being attacked by the Musalmâns, the Persians were routed, and Khôrzâd, departing from the battlefield, shut himself up in the fortress of Madâin, but nevertheless, afterwards perceiving that there was no remedy except flight, he left the city in the middle of the night by the eastern gate with his followers, and departed to Jalûlâ. When Sa'd heard this news, he despatched Ghiâss B. Ghanam Alghurây in pursuit of the fugitives, and himself started to Madâin.

When he arrived in the residence of the Sasanian dynasty, and beheld the gilded palaces, the magnificent edifices, with the variety of produce and food of that country, he uttered with his pearl-shedding tongue the blessed verses: '*How many gardens and fountains and fields of corn, and fair dwellings, and advantages which they enjoyed, did they leave behind them! Thus* [we dispossessed them,] *and we gave the same for an inheritance to another people.*'[25] Opening his mouth in praise to the Divine Majesty, he held in the hall of Kesra and Naushirwân the prayers of victory with eight flexions. There is a tradition that in Madâin so many nice goods and wonderful stuffs of cloth fell into the possession of the Musalmâns, that it never entered their minds they would obtain a hundredth part of them. Most of the historians narrate that in Qâdesyah and Madâin donkey-loads of camphor fell into the possession of the Arabs, that they mistook them for salt, and applied themselves to bartering golden plates for pieces of gold. In the 'Fatûh Sayf' it is recorded that among the spoils of Madâin there was a carpet which had been embroidered with gold and was found in the treasury of Kesra. It measured sixty by sixty cubits, and had been encrusted by master-artists with rubies and jewels to represent a garden with flowers and various plants in elegant designs. When the mind of Kesra was in the winter season bent on pleasure drinking, and exhilaration, he sat down on that carpet, which seemed to the beholder to be a surface adorned with thornless roses and a variety of other flowers. Sa'd despatched this carpet to Madinah without in any way injuring it, whereon O'mar ordered it to be cut into small but equal pieces, and to be distributed among the Anssâr and Mohâjer, so that a handful of it fell also to the share of A'li the Commander of the Faithful, but he sold it for twenty thousand dirhems or dinârs. While Sa'd B. Abu Woqqâss was sojourning at Madâin, the news arrived that Yazdejerd had with some troops departed from Jalûlâ and had gone to Jalwân.

[25] Qurân, ch. xliv. 24-27.

Battle of Jalûlâ and the Success of the Arabs over the Persians, by the Command of God the Most High.

The author of the 'Ghoniah' states that when Yazdejerd had departed to Jalwân, he left Mohrân B. Behrâm Râzy with brave troops in Jalûlâ, and ordered great multitudes to join him from Adharbâyjan, Shirwân, and the mountain regions. Mohrân excavated a large fosse around his camp, and scattered quantities of thorns and brambles in the vicinity of it. When the Arabs heard of this concentration of the Persian forces, Sa'd B. Abu Woqqâss despatched his own brother Hâshem with ten thousand sword-striking, lion-conquering men, who loved the battlefield like a voluptuous assembly, to attack Mohrân. Hâshem marched according to command from Madâin, with Qa'qa' B. Tamym in his vanguard, Sa'd B. Mâlek commanding his right, and A'mru B. Mâlek his left wing.—Abu Hanifah Dinwari says that Khôrzâd, the brother of Rastam Farrahzâd, who had, after the departure of Yazdejerd to Jalwân, encamped with a powerful army at Jalûlâ, sent a courier to Yazdejerd and asked for reinforcements. On this occasion Sa'd despatched A'mru B. Mâlek to be commander of the forces which were to attack Khôrzâd. After A'mru B. Mâlek had traversed the distance, he arrived in Jalûlâ, and encamped near the fosse of the Persians; when, however, the adherents of Islâm perceived that forces from the E'râq were day by day joining Khôrzâd, they considered it proper to quicken hostilities, and after A'mru B. Mâlek had informed O'mar of this circumstance, he despatched Qays B. Hobyrah with one thousand four hundred cavalry and sixty thousand infantry to aid him. After the arrival of the reinforcements, both armies prepared for a conflict, and drew themselves out in battle-array. A'mru gave the command of the right wing to Hejr B. A'dy and the left to Zobeyr B. Juyah, and ordered the whole cavalry not to transgress the orders of A'mru B. M'ady Karab, while all the infantry were to listen with approbation to the behests of Ttollah

B. Khowylad. The Arab and the Persian armies began the fight with bows and arrows, and having spent the latter, worked with their lances, betaking themselves lastly to their swords and heavy clubs. When the sun began to decline, the faces of the opponents became yellow, and they stepped into the desert of flight. The number of the Persians slain was so enormous that all the inequalities of the soil vanished and appeared to be a level plain. In the 'Ghoniah' it is stated that the corpses blocked up the passages, and that Jalûlâ was thus named on that account. So much property was found in the Persian camp of ready cash, merchandise, and cattle, that the poor soldiers of the army became rich. It is said that Khârejah B. Al-ssalt, having entered a tent of the fugitives, beheld the figure of a golden camel adorned with rubies and pearls; on the saddle of that statue there was a man of pure gold. He conveyed the just-mentioned statue to the man who had been appointed to collect the spoils. After this great victory had been obtained, Sa'd despatched one-fifth of the spoils, with an account of it, to Madinah. In the 'Tarjumat Mostaqassa' it is stated that, according to the 'Fatûh Sayf,' O'mar had the booty registered in ledgers after its arrival, and wished to distribute it to the faithful in conformity with their positions and ranks. Someone said: 'O'mar, put thy name at the head of the register.' He replied, however: 'How would I begin with myself, considering that the uncle of the apostle—u. w. bl.—is present?' Accordingly he made arrangements, first for A'bbâs, then for A'li the Commander of the Faithful with his sons Hasan and Husain; after that, he assigned to those who had been present at [the fight of] Bedr five thousand, to those of Hodaybiah four thousand, and to those who had made profession of the Faith after them three thousand to each; to those who had made profession in Qâdesyah one thousand and five hundred, and to others one thousand, and whoever had achieved an exploit obtained five hundred dinârs more as his share. He reckoned Hasan and Husain, and Salmân [the Persian] and Abu Dharr

among the combatants of Bedr, although they had not been there. He gave to A'bbâs twenty-five thousand dinârs, and ten thousand to each of the wives of the apostle; but twelve thousand dinârs to A'ayshah [his favourite wife], who, however, was unwilling to accept the surplus, whereon O'mar said: 'Accept it, for I know the position and dignity thou hast enjoyed with his lordship the prophet, and I am ashamed by the soul of the apostle —u. w. bl.—to account thee as equal to the others. Take the surplus and bestow it on whomsoever thou listest.' Here ends the statement of the author of the 'Tarjumat Mostaqassa,' namely, the accomplished gentleman Mûllânâ Ashrafu-d-din Husain Khavarezmi.

When Yazdejerd B. Shahryâr was apprised of the battle of Jalûlâ, he, having abandoned the government, hastened to Ray, all the multitude of warriors and countless elephants proving of no avail to recoup his fortunes, so that the saying, 'When the time is fulfilled nothing can intervene,' became verified with reference to his case; and how beautiful is the distich:

> Do not trust short life, and commit no evil.
> In the twinkling of an eye thou wilt see its end.

Meanwhile Sa'd received a letter of the following purport from O'mar: 'Rejoice now in the possession of the Arabian E'râq, and do not allow the Arab troops to pass beyond the limits of Jalwân. Would that mountains of fire were between the enemy and ourselves, so that there would be no need of fighting, because to us single men are more precious than loads of booty.' Sa'd then fixed his abode in the district of Anbâr, but the climate proving insalubrious, and fever having begun to spread in the army, he reported the state of affairs to O'mar, who wrote in reply: 'Find a place full of grass proper for the camp of the army.' After making a reconnaissance and search, the choice fell on Kûfah, where Sa'd encamped and asked permission from O'mar to commence building in the locality, which being refused, he wished to construct houses of reeds and was allowed to do so. The houses having been con-

structed, a fire broke out which levelled eighty beautiful edifices to the ground. This event Sa'd again communicated to O'mar, and again craved for permission to build. Thereon orders arrived from the abode of the Khalifate allowing the adherents of Islâm to engage in building, on condition, however, that no one should construct more than three houses, not transgressing the ordinances of the Sonna; so that this [compliance] may become the cause of the perpetuation of the dominion and of the increase of glory and prosperity. Hereon the Musalmâns laid foundations for a town, and commenced to build it. At that time O'tbah B. Ghazwah was, by order of the Khalifah of the period, engaged in founding Bossrah, so that in a short time those two magnificent cities came from naught into the plain of existence. It is said that the conquest of Jalûlâ took place in the sixteenth year of the Hejret [*i.e.*, Hegira][26], and by the advice of A'li, the Commander of the Faithful established in this year the era of the Hegira, whereby the confusion of dates was removed from the nation.

Battle of Nehâwend, and the Success of the Arabs over the Persians by the Favour of the Majesty of the Lord.

After the battle of Jalûlâ had taken place, the sovereign of the Arabian E'râq and of Persia, Yazdejerd B. Shahryâr, unable to find a resting-place anywhere, fled with a number of his courtiers and intimate friends in great haste from the swords of the Ghâzis [*i.e.*, combatants for the religion], and marched till he arrived in the country of Ray, and rested himself in the town of that name from the fatigues and toils of the journey. At this time Abu Mûsa went, by order of Fârûq, with troops to Khozestân, purified that country from the filth of the presence of the idolaters, and sent Hormuzd, the governor of that region, to Madinah, as is recorded in detailed histories. When Yazdejerd B. Shahryâr had been informed of the conquest of that

[26] Began February 2, A.D. 637.

country, he knew that the Arabs would attempt to conquer all the other provinces; he therefore despatched couriers to the notables of Essfarân, of Qum, of Kâshân, of Ttabaristân, of Qûmas, of Dâmghân, and of all the provinces under his sway, with the following message: 'Foes and antagonists have stretched forth their hands to obtain possession of the dominions of the Sasanian dynasty, and having expelled us from the abode of the Sultanate and the residence of our fathers and ancestors, they are bent upon subjugating the whole monarchy to its furthest boundaries. It being incumbent upon all classes, the simple and the gentle, to defend the country, multitudes of them are hereby enjoined to betake themselves to the district of Nehâwend, there to join Fyrûzân, who is one of the princes of the mountains, my plenipotentiary and appointed by me commander-in-chief of all the troops of Khorâsân and of E'raq, so that he may by the favour of God the Most High ward off the enemy from us.' The chiefs and princes of the various provinces having with the nobles and notables obeyed the behest of Yazdejerd, prepared for hostilities and marched with the greatest readiness to Nehâwend, so that in a short time one hundred and fifty thousand men assembled in the vicinity of Nehâwend in the shadow of the banners of Fyrûzân, who was celebrated in the inhabited quarter of the world for his bravery, intelligence and spirit. When the rumour of the gathering of the opponents had spread far and wide, A'mmâr B. Yâser, who had, after the removal of Sa'd B. Abu Woqqâss, been appointed Governor of Kufah, sent a courier to Madinah to inform O'mar of the assemblage of the opponents and foes. O'mar asked the messenger: 'What is thy name?' He replied: 'Qaryb B. Tzafar' [meaning, Near, Son of Victory]. O'mar B. Alkhattâb having obtained certainty of the prevalence of the companions, continued: 'Victory is near if it pleaseth Allah the Most High.' Taking afterwards the letter of A'mmâr B. Yâser in his hand, he ascended the pulpit, praised God, and said: 'O ye Arab people, the Lord of glory and of beneficence has vouchsafed to you the favour and

strength to accept Islâm; then He has caused you to vanquish your foes, and has by His grace elevated the banner of your prosperity. Now, it has become known from the letter of A'mmâr that the notables of Persia have fitted out a large army, and having risen to contend with the Musalmâns, are desirous of entering Kûfah and Bossrah; moreover, they intend, after conquering those provinces, to march against the two sanctuaries[27] What is your opinion on this subject? and who of you will undertake to nullify their wicked attempt?' The first of the noble companions [of the prophet] who spoke was Ttolhah B. A'bdullah, who, extolling the intelligence and shrewdness of O'mar, professed his readiness to follow and obey his decision, but O'thmân said: 'It is my opinion that thou must issue orders for calling out all the troops of Yemen and of Syria, and must thyself, accompanying the professors of Islâm, march straight to Nehâwend.' O'mar being displeased with the words of O'thmân, and desirous to be seconded by the luminous mind of A'li the Commander of the Faithful, asked: 'O father of Hasan, what thinkest thou of this matter?' The receptacle of the Vicariate replied: 'If all the inhabitants of Syria[28] leave that country, it is probable that the greediness of the Byzantines will become excited, and that they will enter it, and if the denizens of Yemen also leave their habitations empty, it is possible that the undaunted Abyssinians will conceive the intention of occupying that province. If thou appearest in person on the battlefield and the Persians are apprised of the fact, they may say, "If we can destroy the king of the Arabs we shall be delivered of all our troubles," and may therefore make greater efforts than they otherwise would. If, which God forbid, thy person were to be injured, the calamity could not be remedied. We have in the time of the apostle of Allah—u. w. bl.—and till now, trusted in the favour of God and not to the number of the troops. According to my opinion, one-third of the forces of Yemen,

[27] Mekkah and Madinah.
[28] Or, rather, the Arab garrisons of Syria.

of Syria and of all the countries of Islâm, ought to remain quiet and comfortable in their places, whilst another third ought to engage in fighting the enemy. Thou must appoint a man to command the army who is adorned with the decoration of valour, foresighted in war and experienced in hostilities. If the figure of victory presents itself upon the speculum of our expectations all will be well, and in the contrary case thou wilt, as long as thou remainest sitting upon the couch of health and security, be able to remedy calamities and to engage in levying another army.' O'mar exclaimed: 'I swear by God that the words thou hast spoken are true, and the same have also occurred to my mind.' Also A'bbâs B. A'bdu-l-muttalleb, of whose advice the young and the old stood in need, approved of the opinion of A'li B. Abu Ttâleb, whom O'mar thereon asked: 'Who, thinkest thou, is of the victory-boding companions worthy of the post of Amir, so that the troops should in the shadow of his banner engage in eradicating the foes?' His lordship replied: 'No'mân B. Muqarn Almazany is the fit man for this business.' Hereon all the notables, the Anssâr and the Mohâjer opened their mouths in approbation of the lion of attack [*i.e.*, A'li], so that the lot of selection fell upon that blessed man, who had also been one of the companions of his holy and prophetic lordship. After due consultation O'mar gave the letters patent, appointing him commander, to No'mân, and said: 'I entrust thee with the duty of distributing the booty of Nehâwend; thou must keep the road of equity and allot the property which God the Most High will bestow upon the Musalmâns according to merit, and if, which God forbid, a calamity should occur and thou remainest alive, thou art no more to appear in my sight; because if, after a misfortune had befallen those who fight for the religion, my eye should ever alight upon thee, the wound of being separated from them would become fresh' He also issued the following injunction: 'In case No'mân B. Muqarn should attain martyrdom, Hudhayfah Alyamâni is to be the Amir of the troops, and if a calamity befalls him, Jaryr

B. A'bd Aljabaly must take the command of the army; after him Jaryrah B. Moghyrah B. Sha'bah is to be acknowledged as Amir, and if he be slain the reins of the transaction of affairs are to be in the hands of Asha'th B. Qays Kindy.' To No'mân he sent the following message: 'Thou art to cause A'mru B. Ma'dy Karab and Ttolhah B. Khowylad to accompany thee in this expedition, and to consult them in strategical matters.' When forces from all quarters had assembled in the shadow of the standard of No'mân, they were counted and found to amount to thirty thousand brave men, with whom he thereon marched to Nehâwend. When Fyrûzân obtained cognizance of the approach of the Arab army, he engaged in excavating a fosse, strengthening also the towers and ramparts of Nehâwend. It is recorded in some books that when No'mân had marched the necessary distance and had reached the vicinity of the camp of the army, he halted half a farsakh from it, and that during two months no other hostilities occurred between them except the shooting of arrows; whereon Fyrûzân, annoyed by the prolongation of inactivity, desired a Musalmân to be sent to him for the purpose of declaring his intention to him. No'mân thereon despatched Moghyrah B. Sha'bah as an envoy, who, on reaching the pavilion of Fyrûzân, asked permission to enter. Having been admitted into the assembly, he beheld Fyrûzân with a costly diadem on his head sitting on a golden throne, in front of which many notables were standing, and the first words uttered by Moghyrah were the following: 'The companions will not return until they have deprived you of this stronghold, of this precious crown, and of this golden throne.' Having said these words, he leapt up and took his seat by the side of Fyrûzân on the throne, intending to impress the enemies of the religion by his boldness. The attendants of Fyrûzân, however, incensed by this movement, laid hands upon him, whereon Moghyrah said: 'I do not know your customs! Take off your hands from me, because it is not usual with monarchs to insult envoys.' Fyrûzân then forbade them

to injure Moghyrah, and said to him: 'There is no nation on the face of the earth more wretched and more famished than the Arabs. Go and tell thy friends to depart from this country and to save their lives. If they have invaded this country for the sake of food and raiment, we shall bestow upon them what they stand in need of, and shall present them with land enough for their support.' Moghyrah said: 'We were destitute, but God the Most High has enriched us by causing us to follow His prophet. We were weak and despised, but by accepting the religion of Islâm we have become strong and respected, and the Sasanian dynasty lost its kingdom and prosperity because your king had torn to pieces the letter of the apostle of God.[29] The gist of my words is that you must accept Islâm or pay the capitation tax, or else come out from within the fosse that the Righteous Judge may decide between us and you [in battle]' Fyrûzân, having turned his face to the pillars of state [i e., grandees], said: 'This Arab has uttered words which are in conformity with truth and sincerity.' He then addressed Moghyrah as follows: 'Return thou, and I shall come out on Wednesday to attack the Arab army.' He kept his word, marched out on the said day, drew out his army in battle-array and fought bravely. The battle continued on Thursday, and although No'mân B. Muqarn had attained martyrdom on Friday, the army of Islâm prevailed and gained the victory.

Abu Hanifah Dinwari, whose words may be trusted, states in his history that No'mân B. Muqarn had, after marching the requisite distance, halted at three farsakhs from Nehâwend, whereon the Persian army marched under the command of Mardânshah B. Hormuz boldly towards the victorious forces, halted near the camp of the adherents of Islâm and excavated a deep fosse around their troops Thus both armies remained for a long time encamped opposite to each other, the Persians never leaving their entrenchments to give occasion for hostilities. No'mân B. Muqarn, wearied and dismayed by this state of affairs,

[29] About this see Part II., vol ii, p. 524, of this work.

consulted A'mru B. Ma'dy Karab as well as Ttolhah B. Khowylad, and said: 'The Persian army is daily on the increase by the reinforcements it is receiving, and is, nevertheless, not budging from its camp. They are sitting at ease and in comfort in their own country, whereas we are far from ours. Such being the case, what will be proper to do?' A'mru replied: 'I think we ought to spread a rumour freely and publicly that O'mar has reached the proximity of the mercy of God [*i.e.*, has died]. When the Persian army obtain cognizance of this, they will come out from their entrenchments and pursue us, whilst we are pretending to be on the march back to our country, but when they have sufficiently approached us, we shall attack them, and perhaps by means of this ruse the countenance of victory will manifest itself on the speculum of our aspirations.' No'mân, having approved of the suggestion of A'mru, acted in accordance therewith, so that when the Persians were informed of the return of the Arabs, they hastened after them with great eagerness and full confidence, but when the Arabs perceived that the Persian army could not possibly retreat to their first position, they halted. When the Persian grandees had taken notice of this state of affairs, they were under the necessity of meeting the Arab warriors and engaging in hostilities, so that during that night, which resembled in horror the day of the resurrection, the warriors of the Persians, and the champions of the Arabs, those for fear of their lives, and these from their longing for the gardens of paradise, shut their eyes to the dangers of the contest.

Wednesday morning, when the royal cavalier of the revolving spheres hastened with a gory standard into the azure field [*i.e.*, when the sun rose], the notables of the Persians and the chiefs of the Arabs engaged in putting their armies in battle order. According to the tradition of Aa'thum Kûfi, No'mân B. Muqarn Almazany appointed A'mru B. Ma'dy Karab Alzobeydy with a number of brave Arabs to command the centre of the army, giving the right wing in charge of Asha'th B. Qays Kindy with a crowd

who would have deemed it disgraceful to flee, and entrusting the left wing to Moghyrah B. Sha'bah Thaqfy with warriors able to disperse foes by means of their swords and spears, but leaving Qays B. Hobyrah Almurary with a detachment in ambush. The warriors of both armies and heroes of both countries became turbulent and stormy, like the waves of the Indian Ocean; the mill of war revolved on that day till the night, and rivers of blood flowed like water on the battlefield. When the night set in, both parties ceased fighting and retreated to their positions. On Thursday the contest was more arduous than it had been on Wednesday; the Arab heroes disabled the elephants of the Persians with their arrows and swords, but many of themselves were also wounded. If the gently ambling steed of the reed were to jot down all the details of these battles, it is likely that prolixity would hinder the account from being perused. In short, on Friday morning No'mân, having donned white garments, mounted a gray charger, engaged in arranging the lines, and waited for the hour in which his holy and prophetic lordship was generally accustomed to begin a fight, namely, at the time of the Friday prayers, when preachers ascend pulpits and begin the devotions with the words: 'O Allah, help the troops of the Musalmâns.' On that occasion No'mân said to the troops which resembled the revolving sphere: 'I shall give signals by means of the *Takbyr;* when I shout it the first time, you are to get ready by tightly girding your loins and steadying your horses, the second time you must direct your lances towards the breasts of the foes and draw your swords, and when I shout the third time you must unanimously begin extirpating the foes, and attack them with swords and daggers.'

It is recorded in the 'Mostaqassa' that on the day of the battle No'mân incited his men to fight for the religion, shouting the name of the Creator, and said: 'An intimation from the invisible world informs me that I shall this day taste the potion of martyrdom, and shall have the honour of meeting the prince of existing beings—u. w. bl.

—and let after me Hudhayfah Alyamâny be the commander, after him Jaryr B. A'bdullah Aljabaly, and after him Moghyrah B. Sha'bah' It is related that when the third shout of the *Takbyr* of No'mân struck the ears of the victory-boding army, it made a unanimous onslaught upon the enemy, on which occasion a lethal arrow struck No'mân B. Muqarn, whereon his spirit departed to the regions of sanctity; then his beloved brother, Sowyd B. Muqarn, having conveyed his body to a tent and dressed it in a robe, shouldered his sword and mounted his charger, and the Musalmâns beholding him appearing thus, took him to be No'mân himself, so that in consequence of the shrewdness of Sowyd the death of No'mân [having remained unknown] caused no change in the army of Islâm. On that day a Persian grandee, Nûshjân by name, made his appearance on the battlefield, intending to fight, but remained on one spot, A'mru B Ma'dy Karab, who wanted to slay the elephant, said to his relatives: 'I shall attack this elephant. If I slash off the trunk of this beast with my sharp sword all will be well; if, on the contrary, the foes approach me and hinder me, do not fail to come to my aid and rescue.' Having given this injunction, A'mru approached Nûshjân, who, however, discharged several arrows quickly at him and wounded him Then the relatives of A'mru advanced, and the followers of Nûshjân likewise, whereon both parties assailed each other. Meanwhile A'mru, watching his chance, cut off the trunk of the elephant, who immediately turned back, but fell prostrate after going a few paces, and perished, whereon the Musalmans obtained access to Nûshjân, and sent him to hell. Then Jaryr B. A'bdullah Aljabaly with Ttolhah B. Khowylad Alasdy incited the troops whose war-cry was victory very eagerly to fight and to make an end of the contest. On this occasion A'mru B. Ma'dy Karab said to his friends: 'My mind bears witness that I shall this day attain martyrdom, and that of these two armies the one which is sure of salvation will be victorious. I shall gladly sacrifice my life in the path of God, and having made provision for eternity I shall depart.'

Having by these tender words burnt the hearts of his beloved friends and saddened their countenances, the Amir A'mru alighted, tightened the girth of his horse, mounted it again, drew his avenging sword, flourished it, and, reciting some verses appropriate to the occasion, uttered the *Takbyr* shout, and galloped towards the enemy, the cavalry of the Bani Mudhaj following his example. When the combatants of both parties had commingled, the horse of A'mru B. Ma'dy Karab happened to fall, but ran away as soon as he had disentangled himself; some Persians then attacked him, and in defending himself his sword broke; he had, however, another, *Dhi-l-nûn* by name, which he drew and used till it likewise became unserviceable. At last, one Behrâm of the opponents inflicted such a blow upon A'mru with his sword that he departed to the gardens of paradise. After that the army of Islâm dislodged the Persians with a desperate struggle, sending many of the accursed fellows to hell. It is related that the number of the Persians slain amounted to eighty thousand, and Fyrûzân took refuge in the mountains with four thousand of his intimate friends; he was, however, pursued by Qa'qa' B. A'mru, with one thousand rank-breaking warriors, and slain with all his followers. On that occasion much booty was gained, and after setting aside of it one-fifth [for the public treasury of Madinah], every horseman obtained six thousand and every footman two thousand dirhems, Sâyb B. Aqra' being the distributor.

It is narrated in chronicles that Tukhâr Khân, who was one of the Persian grandees, and enjoyed a high dignity during the reign of Khosru Parviz, had a wife who was the most beautiful woman of the period; Khosru Parviz, however, associated and commingled with her. When Tukhâr Khân knew this, he separated from his wife, and the Kesra [*i.e.*, Khosru Parviz] having obtained the information, said to him, 'We have heard that thou possessest a sweet spring, but drinkest no water from it.' Tukhâr Khân replied: 'O king, I was drinking water from that spring, but one day I saw a lion walking around it, so that I was

frightened and returned no more to it.' Parviz, pleased with the ingenuity of this explanation, went to his castle, and taking all the ornaments of his women, whose number amounted to three thousand, presented them to the wife of Tukhâr Khân, but to him he gave a crown of gold encrusted with rubies and pearls. After Tukhâr Khân had been slain in the battle of Qâdesyah, his children and relatives buried all these gifts in a certain village and suitable spot. When these people had likewise been slain, an agriculturist and landholder went to Sâyb B. Aqra' and said to him: 'If thou wilt give quarter, with security of life and property to me, to my children, and to my followers, I shall point out to thee a treasure the value of which exceeds all bounds.' Sâyb replied: 'If thy words be true, thy life and property will not be injured.' Hereon the said individual guided some confidential men of Sâyb to a place where he made them dig up two boxes, one containing the jewelled crown of the Kesra, and the other the ornaments of the women, which had been presented to Tukhâr Khân and to his wife. Hudhayfah Alyamâny sent one-fifth of the booty and the two boxes, in which, according to law, the troops had no share, with Sâyb to Madinah. When O'mar had ascertained the state of affairs, and had given thanks to God, he said [to Sâyb]: 'By sending me these two boxes, Hudhayfah wants to lead me into temptation! Now go to Kûfah, and after having sold these things, set apart one-fifth of the money [for the public treasury] and distribute the rest of it among the victorious army.' Sâyb then took the two boxes to Kûfah as he had been commanded, and sold them to A'mru Makhdhûmy for the price of two thousand dirhems, and the writer of these pages says that to poor people like us a sum like this would be sufficient for life.

The Musalmâns surnamed the battle of Nehâwend the 'victory of victories,' because after it they never encountered such a multitude of Persians, and when Yazdejerd B. Shahryâr was apprised of the defeat of Fyrûzân and his death, he was dismayed and embarrassed, and wished to

depart from Ray to Khorâsân. On this occasion the Governor of Ttaberistân paid him a visit, and, presenting him with many gifts, said: 'The country in which your servant is dwelling contains many strongholds and fortresses, as well as a multitude of brave warriors; if the sovereign of the world were to honour that region with his presence, efforts would be made to serve him worthily.' Yazdejerd rejected this proposal, and, after some deliberation, selected the province of Sejestân, where he marched and dwelt for some time, but afterwards departed to Ttûs, in the fortress of which place he desired to find a refuge. The commandant of it, however, although he sent gifts, begged to be excused from admitting him to it. Having been thus disappointed, Yazdejerd went to Merv, but perished in that excellent province, as will be narrated in the account of the Khalifate of O'thmân B. O'ffan.

During the Khalifate of O'mar, the victories of Damascus, of Fahl, of Ba'lbek, of Hamss, of Aleppo, of Qazwyn, were gained, the battle of Yarmûk took place, Aylyâ [Jerusalem] was conquered, with Qyasserah [Cæsarea?] and the cities of Alexandria, Hirah, Madâin, Nehâwend, Dynwar, Essfahân, Ray and Qûms, as well as Ttaberistân, Ahwâz, Khozistân and Kermân, as far as the boundaries of Makrân and Essttakhar Fârs [Persepolis], with other towns and provinces, as the broken-tongued reed has jotted down in the general account of the events of these times. And now the author returns to his task of completing seven volumes, which will be a sufficient excuse to discerning men [for not recording minute events].

Martyrdom of the Prince of the Companions [of the Prophet], O'mar B. Alkhattâb—may Allah be pleased with him—and Account of the Election [or Consultation].

The U'lamâ of histories—Allah have mercy on them—have recorded that in the last days of O'mar's life, Ka'bu-l-âkhbâr had said to him: 'Prepare for thy journey to the next world and make thy last will, because not more than

three days of thy life remain.' As he felt no weakness nor pain, he was astonished at the words of Ka'b, and asked: 'Whence hast thou obtained this information?' Ka'b replied: 'From the Torathah' [*i.e.*, Pentateuch]. O'mar continued: 'Is there any mention of me in the Torathah?' Ka'b replied: 'Yes. Some of thy qualities and acts are recorded in that book.' At that time the slave of Moghyrah B. Sha'bah, whose name was Fyrûz, also called Abu Lûlû, and who was a Christian, laid a complaint before O'mar, saying: 'My master daily extorts from me a sum unjustly,[30] so that I am reduced to great distress. I hope thou wilt order him to reduce it a little.' O'mar asked: 'Hast thou any qualifications?' He replied: 'I am a carpenter, a painter and a blacksmith.' O'mar rejoined: 'Taking into consideration all these abilities of thine, what Moghyrah extracts from thee is but just.' He also added: 'Abu Lûlû, I have heard that thou art able to construct a windmill; if thou makest one for me to grind the corn of the public treasury into flour it will be well.' Abu Lûlû then angrily exclaimed: 'I shall construct for thee a windmill, which will become known from East to West!' After this interview had terminated, O'mar said: 'This slave has threatened to kill me!' In short, Abu Lûlû, having determined to slay O'mar, ran to the *Mahrâb*,[31] where O'mar was engaged in conducting the morning prayers of the people, and stabbed him six times with a dagger, a blow under the navel taking lethal effect. O'mar having been conveyed to his house, the physician Hâreth B. Kaldah was asked whether the wounds could be cured or not. When Hâreth arrived, he administered a little milk to O'mar, and when it issued with blood under the navel, Hâreth despaired of the life of O'mar, and said: 'O Amir, make thy last will, because from a medical point of view thy case is a dangerous one.' On this occasion Ka'bu-l-âkhbâr made his appear-

[30] Such was also the case formerly in the slave States of America, but chiefly in large cities, where owners sent out their slaves to work, and exacted from them the utmost they could.

[31] Principal place in a mosque where the Emâm prays with the people turned towards Mekkah.

ance, whereon O'mar recited two distichs, the translation of which is as follows: 'Ka'b said to me: Of thy life, O O'mar, three days remain, and there is no doubt of it. By Allah! I dread not the loss of my life, but I am apprehensive of the multitude of my sins.' Then he said to his son A'bdullah: 'Go to A'ayshah, and do not speak of me as the Amir of the Faithful, because I am not their Amir to-day, but say to her: "O'mar sends thee his greeting, and asks for permission to be interred by the side of his companion"' [i.e., Abu Bakr]. A'bdullah obeyed, and the request was complied with. O'mar then again said: 'When I am dead you are again to ask A'ayshah for permission. If she assents it will be well; but if not, then bury me in the cemetery of the Musalmâns' On this occasion the chief Mohâjer and Anssâr requested O'mar to appoint a man worthy to be invested with the important office of the Khalifate. O'mar replied: 'I have taken this heavy burden upon myself in my lifetime, but how can I continue the responsibility for it when I am dead? If I appoint a man to the Khalifate, he ought to be better than myself, namely, one like Abu Bakr [who is, however, dead]; so it will be proper not to appoint anyone, the prince of the sons of Adam, namely, Muhammad the elect, not having himself appointed anyone to succeed him.' Some of the people present in the assembly then said: 'A number of the companions [of the prophet] are willing to see thy son A'bdullah, who is endowed with laudable qualities, appointed to the Khalifate.' He, however, rejoined: 'I do not think that one of the family of O'mar could bear this heavy burden without becoming obnoxious and subject to reproaches.' After one of the friends had again insisted on the appointment of A'bdullah to the Khalifate, O'mar said to him: 'Thou art attached to A'bdullah, but hast no regard for the nation. How could I entrust the affairs of Islâm to a man who is not cognizant of the circumstances under which he may divorce his own wife?'—These words he uttered because during the lifetime of his holy and prophetic lordship A'bdullah had divorced his wife while

she was in a state of menstruation; whereon his lordship, having heard of the case, said to him: 'Take her back, and, if thou art so inclined, divorce her in a state of purity, so as to act in conformity with the *Sonna*.'—O'mar then said: 'There are six men worthy to be appointed to the Khalifate, namely, first of all, A'li, then O'thmân, and Sa'd B. Abu Woqqâss, and Ttolhah B. A'bdullah, and Zobeyr, and A'bdu-r-rahman B. A'wuf. The companions [of the prophet] must three days after my decease elect one of their own number to the Khalifate.' It is related that certain Musulmâns, having heard this injunction of O'mar, lengthened their tongues of disapproval with reference to the [just-enumerated] candidates; and when O'mar received the information he became displeased, and said: 'I heard the apostle—u. w. bl.—uttering with his wonderfully eloquent mouth the following words: "I am in no place without my hand being in the hand of A'li B. Abu Ttâleb." His lordship, one day addressing me, said. "O'thmân B. O'ffan is praying in the night, and the angels of the seven heavens are uttering salutations to him." I asked: "O apostle of Allah, what is the virtue of O'thmân?" He replied: "Indeed, O'thmân is ashamed to commit sin or wrong in the sight of his Nourisher." As for Ttolhah B. A'bdullah, when he marched one cold night with his holy and prophetic lordship, the baggage of that prince was about to fall, whereon he opened his pearl-dropping mouth in prayer, and said: "O Lord, whoever alights from his saddle, to arrange the saddle of Thy apostle, be Thou so pleased with him as never to be angry with him." At that moment I saw Ttolhah getting down and putting the baggage right. Thereon his lordship again said to him: "O Ttolhah, here is Jebrâil [*i e.*, Gabriel] saluting thee, and saying to me: 'Inform Ttolhah that at the resurrection no mishap will befall him, because I shall be with him.'" One day Zobeyr beheld the apostle—u. w. bl.—sleeping, and flies gathering on his blessed countenance, whereon Zobeyr occupied himself in warding them off. When his lordship awoke and witnessed the service Zobeyr had been doing him, he said:

"O Zobeyr, here is Jebrâil, who salutes thee and says to thee: 'By that God who has sent Muhammad as a prophet, I swear that on the day of resurrection I shall ward off the fire-sparks from thy face.'" As to A'bdu-r-rahman B. A'wuf, his merit appeared as follows: One day the lord of apostleship was sitting in the chamber of A'ayshah, when Fattimah entered with Hasan and Husain, both children crying from hunger, and Fattimah with them. The prophet, witnessing this scene, said: "O Allah, rejoice him who gives food to my children!" Then someone shook the ring of the door, and it being opened, A'bdu-r-rahman B. A'wuf appeared, bearing in his hand a dish full of victuals. His lordship the apostle having given him leave to enter, he said: "O apostle of Allah, this is a gift." His lordship replied: "A'bdu-r-rahman, Paradise has been made ready for thee, but God the Most High will also in this world bestow blessings and honours upon thee." Then his holy and prophetic lordship partook of the victuals with the children, and all were filled. As to the merit of Sa'd, he acquired it in the battle of Ohod when serving out arrows to the apostle—u. w. bl.—who shot them at the unbelievers; and on that day I heard him saying thirteen times: "Shoot, O Sa'd; may my father and mother be a sacrifice for thee." Accordingly, he who entertains evil suspicions concerning these men [*i.e.*, the six candidates] is injuring his own soul.' It is narrated in some traditions that, certain persons having asked O'mar why he had not himself appointed one of those six men to the Khalifate, he then mentioned a quality of each of them, which the broken-tongued reed, however, considered proper not to record, on grounds of perfect regard for them.

When the appointment to the office of the Khalifate by election [of one of the six candidates proposed by O'mar] had been decided upon, O'mar said to the Anssâri Abu Ttolhah: 'Islâm has by your aid become exalted and impregnable. Thou must select fifty men of the Anssâr and superintend the candidates, that they may call no one, and thou art to admit no one. Thou must request and.

incite them to appoint one of themselves to the Khalifate as soon as possible, and if one or two men disagree with four or five men, thou must cause the sharp sword to decide between the opponents. If three men of the six differ [in their votes] from the other three, thou art to second the party to which A'bdu-r-rahman B. A'wuf belongs. My son A'bdullah is to be present at that meeting, but is not to interfere in anything. After my demise the six companions are to wait three days till they appoint a Khalifah.'—It is on record that after O'mar had nominated those six blessed men to be candidates, A'bbâs, who had become aware of the fact, said to A'li the Commander of the Faithful by way of advice: 'In my opinion it will be better for thee to keep thyself aloof from this matter.' A'li Murtadza replied: 'It is repugnant to me to act contrary to the injunction of O'mar.' A'bbâs continued: 'Then thou wilt experience something repugnant to thyself.' When A'li the Amir of the Faithful heard that preference had been given to A'bdu-r-rahman B. A'wuf, he said: 'I have been deprived of the robe of the Khalifate.' A'bbâs asked: 'Whence knowest thou it?' The Amir replied: 'Because O'mar has said that if three men of the six are on one side and three on the other, the Musalmâns must follow the decision of A'bdu-r-rahman and not swerve therefrom; and he being the son-in-law of O'mar, they will certainly act according to it; nor will Sa'd B. Abu Woqqâss, who is the cousin of A'bdu-r-rahman, disregard his opinion, so that, supposing Ttolhah and Zobeyr to be with me, we shall not attain our object.' A'bbâs continued: 'O A'li, I have often given thee advice, but thou hast not listened to it. In the last sickness of the apostle—bl. u. h.—I told thee to ask him who should after him administer the affairs of the commonwealth, but thou hast demurred. When his lordship had joined the proximity of God's mercy, I often told thee that if thou covetest the Khalifate thou must make haste to attain it, but thou hast not approved of my suggestion. I have directed thee not to enrol thyself among the candidates, but thou hast not followed my advice. Now the circum-

stances of the time and the requirements of honour make it necessary that if they propose thee to become Khalifah, thou art not to open the mouth of assent unless they unanimously propose to pay thee allegiance. A'li, take care of the cunning of these people! They wish to remove us, and to seat another on the *masnad*[32] of the government.'

It is known for certain that O'mar departed to the eternal abode at the end of Dhu-l-Hejjah of the year twenty-three.[33] According to one tradition, the duration of his Khalifate amounted to ten years, six months, and four days, but a few days less have also been assigned to it; and Saahyt B. Sanân Rûmy, whom O'mar had appointed Emâm of the people in his days of weakness, held the funeral prayers over him.

In the book 'Muwaqa'h Assuhâbah' it is recorded that A'li B. Abu Ttâleb entered the house of O'mar after his death but before his ablution, and said: 'O O'mar, may God the Most High have mercy on thee, because I know of no one except thyself whose page of deeds is in conformity with the volume of His acts. It is my desire that my meeting the majesty of the Nourisher should be like thine. I am of opinion that God will not separate thee from His beloved one [*i.e.*, Muhammad], and from his friend, namely, Abu Bakr, for I have often heard the apostle—u. w. bl.—say: "I and Abu Bakr and O'mar have done thus, and have walked thus," and thy name was always the third of them. May God the Most High pardon thee, O son of Khattâb, for thou hast been conversant with His evident signs [*i.e.*, verses of the Qurân], and hast feared no one except Him, whose name be glorified; thou hast held His commands in very great esteem, and hast, in executing His injunctions, been partial to no one. Thou hast been liberal towards God and parsimonious to thyself, and thou hast been poor in mundane goods but rich in eternal prospects.'

[32] Literally, 'place of learning,' the couch or throne of government.

[33] Beginning of November, A.D. 644, or end of A.H. 23.

When the people had taken up the corpse of O'mar and conveyed it to the door of the chamber of A'ayshah, according to the injunction of O'mar, and again asked for permission [to inter it by the side of her father, Abu Bakr], A'ayshah—may Allah be pleased with her—said: 'I shall never withdraw my gift.' She then interlaced her fingers, lifted up her hands, and wailed: 'O Muhammad! O Abu Bakr! your friend O'mar has come to pay you a visit, and asked for permission to enter.' The population of Madinah then raised a unanimous shout of lamentation which made the earth and the heavens quake. After that his blessed body was interred by the side of Abu Bakr. When he died, his agent over Mekkah was Nâfi' B. A'bdullah Khozaa'y; and over Ttâyf, Sofiân B. A'bdullah Thaqfy; and over Bossrah, Abu Mûsa Asha'ry; and over Kûfah, Moghyrah B. Sha'bah; and over Egypt, A'mru B. A'ass; and over Hamss, A'mru B. Sa'd; and over Damascus, Moa'wiah B. Abu Sofiân. The allegation of some chroniclers, that in one of the nights during the election A'mru B. A'ass had an interview with A'li, and beguiled him so that the Khalifate devolved on O'thmân, is rejected by the U'lamâ of histories and considered to be weak. The arranger of the parts [*i.e.*, our author] says that information on the names of the chaste wives of O'mar, the number of his children, and his meritorious acts in detail, is recorded in extensive books on the religious wars and in biographical works.

The Khalifate of O'thmân B. O'ffan—A. b. pl. w. h.

The recorders of history have narrated that when the adherents of Islâm had buried O'mar and terminated the ceremonies of condolence, Maqdâd B. Aswad approached, according to the injunction of O'mar, all the companions of the consultation, and discerning men, whereon the six candidates assembled in the public treasury of the Musalmâns, or, according to some, in the habitation of Fattimah, the sister of Asha'th B. Qays, haranguing each other on their own laudable qualities. When their voices had

become very loud, A'bdu-r-rahman B. A'wuf said to them: 'Delegate your claims to three men.' Zobeyr then said: 'I have left my affair to A'li.' Ttolhah said: 'I have placed the reins of my election into the grasp of the power of O'thmân.' Sa'd B. Abu Woqqâss said: 'I have empowered A'bdu-r-rahman B. A'wuf [to speak] for me.' A'bdu-r-rahman B. A'wuf then said: 'I and my brother Sa'd have withdrawn our necks from [bearing] the yoke of the Khalifate.' At the conclusion of the meeting all the companions agreed to abide by the decision of A'bdu-r-rahman, and dispersed to their habitations.

After the friends had gone away, A'bdu-r-rahman despatched a confidential man to the house of A'li the Amir of the Faithful, with the following message: 'If I do not pay allegiance to thee, whom desirest thou to become the Khalifah?' He replied: 'O'thmân.' A'bdu-r-rahman then sent a person to O'thmân with the question: 'If we do not pay homage to thee, whom wilt thou elect?' He said: 'A'li.' Then he summoned Ttolhah and Zobeyr, asking them: 'If the robe of the Khalifate will not fit your stature, to whom would you pay allegiance?' Zobeyr said: 'To A'li'; and Ttolhah said: 'To O'thmân.' A'bdu-r-rahman then said to Sa'd: 'Neither of us two desires to be Khalifah; tell me who is deserving of this important post.' He replied: 'O'thmân.' A'bdu-r-rahman then remarked: 'I perceive that one of the two, namely, O'thmân or A'li, will become Khalifah.'

Masûd B. Makhrajah, son of the sister of A'bdu-r-rahman B. A'wuf, says: 'During the night following the day when the hand of destiny had been stretched forth to pay allegiance to O'thmân, I went to the house of my maternal uncle, but he awoke me after I had slumbered a little, and said: "I have not had a wink of sleep during these three nights; go now to the houses of A'li and O'thmân, and say: 'A'bdullah has sent me to call you.'" I asked to whose house I was to go first. He said: "As thou likest." I asked: "Are they to come to thee separately or together?" He said: "Together." As I was more favourably disposed

towards A'li, I first hastened to his domicile, and found him engaged in prayer, and when he had done he asked me for the reason of my coming. On my replying that my uncle was calling him, he continued: "Has he called anyone besides me?" I said: "Yes, he has also called O'thmân." He queried: "Which of us two has he called first?" I said: "He left me the option." He asked: "Must we come alone or together?" I said: "You are to arrive together." Then I told him to get ready quickly, and that I and O'thmân would join him. After that I went to the habitation of O'thmân, and the same conversation took place between us as with A'li. When I had left the domicile of O'thmân, all three of us went together to A'bdu-r-rahman, who said, after an immensely long talk to the receptacle of the Vicariate: "O A'li, wilt thou agree that we should deal according to the book of God the Most High, the *Sonna* of His apostle, and in conformity with the acts of Abu Bakr and O'mar?" A'li replied: "I shall do so as far as I am able, according to my capacity and power." O'thmân thereon repeated the same promise, most gladly assenting to everything. A'bdu-r-rahman said to them: "If you have told me all you had to say, you may return to your houses, that this affair may be decided to-morrow in the assembly." '

The next morning the noble Mohâjer, the Anssâr, and the pious followers [*Tabi'yn*] assembled in the mosque, no other place being spacious enough to hold them, and after holding the matutinal prayers A'bdu-r-rahman took up his position by the side of the pulpit of the apostle, gave praises to God, and said: 'O ye electors, has the duty of appointing a Khalifah been delegated to me or not?' They said: 'Yes.' He continued: 'I have also according to my capacity and power investigated the matter, so as not to incline to the side of the conquered one, despite the conqueror.' He then said: 'O A'li, arise, and come to my side.' A'li the Commander of the Faithful then approached A'bdu-r-rahman, who took him by the hand, repeating the same question he had asked on the previous night, whereon

his lordship the receptacle of the Vicariate gave the same reply as already mentioned above. Then A'bdu-r-rahman let go his hand, whereon he returned to his place. After that he called O'thmân and repeated to him what he had said on the preceding evening, and O'thmân most willingly assented, omitting the condition of capacity and power [which A'li had made]. A'bdu-r-rahman then turned his face up to the roof of the mosque, and said: 'O God, hear and be witness that I have placed the yoke of the Khalifate upon the neck of O'thmân.' Having said these words, he placed his hand upon that of O'thmân, and thus paid him homage The people around the mosque having begun to move, great crowding ensued; A'li, however, and A'bbâs remained in their places as they were. Some allege that A'li the Commander of the Faithful intended to depart from the mosque without paying allegiance, and it is, at any rate, in conformity with such a supposition that A'bdu-r-rahman said: 'O A'li, God the Most High has said, *Who violates an oath violates it against himself*.'[34] Hereon A'li the Commander of the Faithful approached O'thmân and paid him allegiance.

In some books it is stated that the candidates [for the Khalifship] having assembled in a house, A'bdu-r-rahman said: 'Who of you will resign his claims to the Khalifate?' Hereon all stretched their heads forward, but gave no reply. A'bdu-r-rahman continued: 'I have abdicated my own claims, but you are to abide by my decision.' All assented to this proposal, but A'li said: 'On condition that thou disregardest not justice, and actest not according to the suggestions of thy own wishes.' A'bdu-r-rahman replied: 'I shall do so, but you must promise me to accept him as the Khalifah, whom I select.' All having made a covenant to this effect, the Qoraish chiefs, the great Mohâjer and Anssâr, all the Amirs, nobles, and notables assembled on the fourth morning after the demise of O'mar in the mosque, whereon A'bdu-r-rahman said: 'O people, tell me who is

[34] This passage I was unable to find in the Qurân, and am of opinion that it is not in it.

worthy of the dignity of the Khalifate, and deserving of the *masnad* of government and administration.' A'mmâr Yâser said: 'If thou art unwilling that dissensions should arise among the adherents of Islâm, thou must pay homage to A'li, who is the prince of the nation.' Some agreed with A'mmâr; Sa'd Abu Sarj, however, who was the milk-brother of O'thmân, said: 'If thou wishest no opposition to arise among the Qoraish, thou must pay homage to O'thmân' A'bdullah B. Rabya'h then continued: 'What has passed over the tongue of Abu Sarj is but the truth, and perfectly convenient.' Hereon A'mmâr B. Yâser asked A'bdullah B. Sa'd [*supra* B. Rabya'h]: 'At what time hast thou been the adviser of the people of Islâm, and when hast thou been engaged in directing them?' Then a conversation ensued between the Bani Hâshem and the Bani Ommyah, whereon A'mmâr said: 'O ye Musalmâns, God the Most High has bestowed on us His prophet, has honoured and ennobled us with His religion; then why would you surrender the guidance of the nation to another family and deprive that of the prophet thereof?' A man of the Bani Makhzûm then said: 'O son of Samiah, thou hast gone beyond thy tether, and hast said more than thou art competent to speak; what hast thou to do with the appointment of a Khalifah?' On this occasion Sa'd B. Abu Woqqâss said to A'bdu-r-rahman: 'Terminate this affair before hostilities break out.' Accordingly, A'bdu-r-rahman said: 'O A'li, makest thou a covenant before God that, if thou art appointed Khalifah, thou wilt act in conformity with the book of God, the *Sonna* of the apostle, and the advice of the two Sheikhs?' [*sic*]. A'li the Commander of the Faithful replied: 'I entertain hopes that I shall do so, although I am not conversant with the administration of affairs.' His lordship the receptacle of the Vicariate had uttered these words implying that he would strive [to do his duty]. After that A'bdu-r-rahman addressed O'thmân in a similar manner, and he replied: 'I accept with my heart and mind what thou hast said.' A'bdu-r-rahman thereon turned his face heavenwards, saying: 'O God, be

witness that I have thrown the garland of the Khalifate on the neck of O'thmân.' A'li the Commander of the Faithful said: 'O son of A'wuf, thou hast made this move to gain the favour of the people; this is not the first time that you have overcome [*i.e.*, outwitted] me; *however, patience is most becoming, and Allah's assistance is to be implored* [to enable me to support the misfortune] *which ye relate.*'[35]

According to one tradition, Ttolhah had gone to his estate when O'mar was about to die, and had made an arrangement with his lordship that the candidates should wait for him; but after the time had expired and O'thmân had been elected Khalifah, Ttolhah returned the next day to Madinah, and some people, on learning what had taken place, said to him: 'If thou disagreest with what the companions have done, we shall hold another meeting with reference to the Khalifate;' but Ttolhah replied: 'Allah forbid that I should be a stumbling-block; I agree to what the people have agreed to.' It is said that at the time of the election A'bdu-r-rahman had made inquiries among the Qoraish chiefs, and found most of them in favour of O'thmân.

When O'thmân had become established as Khalifah, the first question which occurred, and concerning which discussions took place, was the affair of A'bdullah B. O'mar B. Alkhattâb, whom Ssahyt B. Sanân had, from religious ardour,[36] kept in close confinement for slaying Hormyzân and Johaynah the Christian. The details of this occurrence are: That Hormyzân—who had been the Governor of Ahwâz and Khozistân, and had leave from the Persian court to sit on a throne and to wear a crown on his head—had, after many contests, been captured by the Musalmâns and sent to Madinah. Having reached the seat of the Khalifate, he had interviews and conversations with O'mar, after which he pronounced the formula of monotheism, and lived in that pleasant locality in the shadow of the protec-

[35] Qurân, ch ii., part of v. 18.
[36] The text has 'by way of Musalmânship,' which I considered more suitable to translate as above.

tion of the Bani Hâshem, who paid him a slender stipend from the public treasury. He was on good terms with Johaynah the Christian, and with Abu Lûlû, who [as has been narrated above] had inflicted several wounds on O'mar and fled from the mosque. A man of the Bani Tamym ran, however, after Abu Lûlû, killed him, and having taken his poniard, gave it to A'bdu-r-rahman B. Abu Bakr, which the latter handed to A'bdullah, saying: 'I saw Abu Lûlû going one day to the domicile of Hormyzân with this dagger in his hand.' A'bdu-r-rahman had no idea that A'bdullah would kill in Islâm anyone without first consulting some of the great companions [of the prophet]; nevertheless, as soon as A'bdullah B. O'mar had heard these words of A'bdu-r-rahman, he immediately slew Hormyzân and Johaynah. When the people had finished [the ceremony of] paying homage, Saahyt brought A'bdullah into the assembly of the chiefs of the religion, and O'thmân asked them concerning A'bdullah's act. A'li said: 'He must be punished according to the law of retaliation.' All the other companions, however, said: 'The people will say, "One day they have killed the Khalifah of the apostle, and the next day his son."' Others were of opinion that, as this event had not occurred during the Khalifate of O'thmân, it would be better not to retaliate in haste. O'thmân then paid the blood-ransom for Hormyzân from his private means, and discharged A'bdullah. When, however, [afterwards] the *masnad* of the Khalifate became adorned and embellished by the noble person of the lord of the Vicariate [*i.e.*, Ali], A'bdullah, still fearing retaliation, took refuge with Moa'wiah B. Abu Sofiân, was wounded in the battle of Saafyn, and surrendered his life to the grasper of souls, as the reed of explanation will narrate.

Changes of Governors of some Provinces and Towns, and Narrative of some Events by way of Abridgment.

O'thmân B. O'ffan removed during his sway Moghyrah B. Sha'bah from the governorship of Kûfah, appointed to

it Sa'd B. Abu Woqqâss, and said: 'O'mar has told me that whoever sits on the *masnad* of thé Khalifate must consider it his duty to favour Sa'd, saying: "I have not removed Sa'd for weakness or treachery."' He nevertheless himself likewise recalled Sa'd after the expiration of one year, and appointed his own maternal brother, Wolyd B. O'tbah B. Abu Mo'ytt, to the governorship of Kûfah. The people of Kûfah, being displeased with this arrangement, said: 'O'thmân has removed Sa'd, who was a man of noble character, good lineage, and pleasing conversation, and has appointed his lascivious, profligate brother to govern us.' Wolyd, however, behaved during his incumbency for some time in such a manner as to gain the approval of the inhabitants of Kûfah, living during five years of his government in a house without doors, so that needy persons might have easy access to him. After the expiration of the said period, however, according to the distich of Khosrû Dehlawy:

Morning time is but a brief season
Spent in abstinence, but also in sin.

Having indulged in matutinal potations, he went to the mosque in a state of intoxication, and performed, instead of the two prescribed prayer-flexions, four, adding: 'O friends, thy time is pleasant. If you like, I shall make four more prayer-flexions for you.' This behaviour having been reported to Madinah, O'thmân recalled him, ordering A'bdullah B. Ja'fer and A'li B. Abu Ttâleb to scourge and to admonish him, so that he afterwards conformed himself to the ordinances of the religion. After the recall of Wolyd, he again appointed Sa'd B. Abu Woqqâss to the post.

In the beginning of his reign he ordered the levy of the tribute of Egypt to be in charge of A'bdullah B. Sa'd Abu Sarj, and the military administration, with the commandership of the army, to be carried on by A'mru B. A'ass, without meddling with the revenue department. Some time afterwards, O'thmân despatched A'bdullah B. Râfi' with a brave army to reinforce A'bdullah and A'mru B. A'ass, ordering the notables of the army of Islâm to march

in the direction of Africa and Andalûs [Spain], and to endeavour to subjugate those countries. They obeyed, engaged in the conquest of countries, the gaining of booty, and raising the glorious standards to the zenith of the sky. The intention of A'mru B. A'ass being to bring also the public treasury under his own management, he became recalcitrant and dilatory in aiding and co-operating with A'bdullah, who, becoming aware of this state of affairs, lodged a complaint in writing with O'thmân. Hereon an order of recall was issued from the seat of government, removing A'mru B. A'ass from his post, and appointing A'bdullah also to the commandership of the army. A'mru B. A'ass returned, disgusted and sorrowful, to Madinah, and, associating with Sa'd B. Abu Woqqâss, who was likewise one of the degraded officials, both of them lengthened their tongues of blame towards O'thmân, and spoke disparagingly of him, his enmity increasing to such a degree that he divorced his wife, who was the maternal sister of O'thmân. About this time the people of Bossrah complained of Abu Mûsa Asha'ry, who had for a long time been their governor; wherefore O'thmân removed him, and appointed the son of his maternal aunt, who was known by the name of A'bdullah B. A'amer, to govern in his stead. The recall of Abu Mûsa and the installation of A'bdullah took place in the year A.H. 28,[37] in which year also Othmân went on pilgrimage to the glorious Ka'bah [of Mekkah], engaging in prolonged orisons at Menâ and A'rafât. The companions, displeased with this proceeding, said: 'We went on pilgrimage with the apostle of Allah, with Abu Bakr, and with O'mar, and performed under their leadership the prescribed morning and evening prayers, but with not more than two flexions.' On this subject a controversy arose between O'thmân and A'bdu-r-rahman, the latter saying: 'Thou hast accepted the Khalifate on condition of demeaning thyself in conformity with the book of Allah, the *Sonna* of the apostle of Allah, and the behaviour of the

[37] A.H. 28 began on September 25, A.D. 648.

two Sheikhs [*sic*],[28] but hast acted according to none of them.' The details, however, of this occurrence are recorded in some histories. In this journey O'thmân ordered couches and a large tent to be prepared, in which he dispensed repasts to the notables among the pilgrims; but the companions of his holy and prophetic lordship found fault also with this proceeding. When he had returned to Madinah, he ordered a deep well to be excavated for the sake of convenience; but the ring of the prophet—u. w. bl. —which he wore on his finger, like his two predecessors, happened to fall into the well, and could, despite the greatest efforts, not be recovered.

MARCHING OF O'THMÂN B. ABU A'ASS AND A'BDULLAH B. A'AMER TO ATTACK YAZDEJERD B. SHAHRYÂR; HIS FLIGHT TO KHORÂSÂN, AND HIS DEATH.

It is related in certain traditions that in A.H. 30[29] the people of Easttakhar, who obeyed the professors of Islâm, had swerved from the straight path, and had rebelled; whereon Yazdejerd joined them with some Persian troops. When O'thmân obtained cognizance of the concentration of the Persians, he despatched O'thmân B. Abu A'ass with A'bdullah B A'amer to disperse them; some traditions, however, mention S'ad B. Abu Woqqâss instead of Othmân. When the army of Islâm started to the province of Fârs, and arrived there after traversing the distance, it attacked Yazdejerd and vanquished him, and he fled towards Khorâsan. A'bdullah B. A'amer then received a message and invitation from the Governor of Ttûs to march there, and, having found a guide, he reached that province, which he conquered, whereon he marched to Nishâbûr. At that time Yazdejerd was slain in the province of Merv, the details of which event are as follows: 'When Yazdejerd was roaming about with the royal scions who attended on him, and arrived in Merv, the governor of that place, whose name was Mâhwy Sûry, was displeased; and

[28] By the two Sheikhs Abu Bakr and O'mar may be meant.
[29] A.H. 30 began on September 4, A.D. 650.

as the Sasanian dynasty had been overthrown, he engaged in blamable and base machinations, writing to the Khâqân, and inviting him to take possession of Merv. Mâhwy Sûry being the son-in-law of the Khâqân, the latter willingly complied with the request, crossed the Jayhûn with a large army, arrived purposely in the night in Merv, and, the gates having been opened to him, entered the town. When Yazdejerd was apprised of this sudden calamity, he left the city alone and on foot, and, having walked about two farsakhs, reached a mill, the owner of which he requested to give him shelter that night. The miller said: 'Give me four dirhems that I may hand them to the owner of the stone, because I owe him this sum.' Yazdejerd then presented him with his sword, which was in value equivalent to the tribute of a kingdom. When, however, Yazdejerd had fallen asleep, that wicked little man, greedy for the costly garments of the sovereign, killed him, and threw his body into the water:

Time resembles the wind
Which pulls the veil from the rose;
After one week in the garden
It lays its body on the ground of abasement;
Sometimes it seats thee on the steed of thy desire,
Sometimes it pulls thee under the halter of calamity.

When the morning dawned the troops and the people of Merv assailed the Khâqân, who thereon retreated by way of the desert towards Bokhara. The people searched in every direction for Yazdejerd, found his corpse in the water, and his clothes with the miller, whom they slew in the worst manner. Now Mâhwy Sûry fled, the stigma of ingratitude was branded on the pages of his circumstances, and he perished in exile. Some allege that Yazdejerd B. Shahryâr was killed A.H. 31, and that Mâhwy, having conveyed his body to Easttakhar Fârs, deposited it in the mausoleum of the kings of Persia; but there is also another tradition on the subject.

In this year Constantine, the son of Heraclius, having collected an army, started by way of the sea to attack the Musalmâns, and it is said that he had three hundred ships

full of brave warriors. A'bdullah B. Sa'd put himself in motion on the sea, and Moa'wiah B. Abu Sofiân on land. A naval battle took place between the Byzantines and the Governor of Egypt, in which numerous combatants perished on both sides. At last the professors of Islâm became victorious, and Constantine having, with a number of his followers, escaped the fate of drowning, reached the island of Sicily, the people of which said to the Qaysar: 'By thy ill-luck many Christians have perished, and not enough of them have survived to ward off the Arab forces in case they were to attack us.' After that the people of the said island slew Constantine in the bath. During this Ghazâ Muhammad B. Abu Hudhayfah opened the mouth of calumny against O'thman, and said: 'The son of O'ffan is in the administration of affairs acting contrary to the precedent of Abu Bakr and O'mar; he has, moreover, appointed A'bdullah B Sarj to be a commander, although the lord of the apostolate—u. w. bl.—had made it licit to shed his blood; O'thman has removed great companions [of the prophet] from their posts and appointed to them his relatives, such as Sa'd Abu-l-a'ss, and A'bdullah B. Sa'd, and A'bdullah B. A'amer.' Ebn Sa'd, having heard these words, threatened him with punishment and reprisals.

Conquest of Khorâsân, and Prevalence of the Musalmâns over their Opponents.

When A'bdullah B. A'amer arrived in Nishâbûr, the inhabitants of that district took refuge in the fortress and began hostilities. On that occasion the Governor of Tûs waited on A'bdullah and negotiated for peace. When Nishâbûr had, after a siege of four months, fallen into the grasp of the adherents of Islâm, Ebn A'amer entrusted that district to the wise administration of the Governor of Tûs, and sent Ahnaf B. Qays in the direction of Hirat, appointing each Amir to take charge of one of the districts of Khorâsân. When the rumour of the conquest of Nishâbûr had spread far and wide, the chiefs of the provinces of Nishâbûr, of Sarakhs, and of Merv waited on A'bdullah

B. A'amer and concluded peace, whereon he appointed Hâtim B. No'mân Albâhely to govern Merv, and despatched A'bdullâh Hâzam to Sarakhs.

After these events, the desire of returning took possession of the mind of A'bdullah B. A'amer, whereon he appointed, according to one tradition, Qays B. Ssalt to be his lieutenant, entrusted the administration of military affairs to Ahnaf B. Qays, travelled from Nishâbûr to Arabia, and after traversing the distance waited on O'thmân, who, however, blamed him, saying: 'Why hast thou come without my permission and jeopardized the boundaries of Islâm?' The author of the 'Mostaqassa' says that Marisu-l-rûd, *i.e.* Ttaɀqân, was conquered by the efforts of Ahnaf, as well as the country of Balkh and Khowârezm, all these events having taken place A.H. 32.[40] In this year, also, several of the great companions, such as A'bbâs B. A'bdu-l-muttalleb, and A'bdu-r-rahman B. A'wuf, and Abu Ttolhah, and A'bdullah B. Masu'd, and Abu Dhar Ghuffâry, died; but some allege that A'bbâs died A.H. 34, and according to one tradition he had reached the age of eighty-six years.

Account of Abu Dhar Ghuffâry.[41]

Abu Dhar had been one of the great companions of his holy and prophetic lordship, and departed during the Khalifate of O'mar to Syria to wage holy war [Ghazâ]. After O'mar had responded to the call of fate [*i.e.*, died] Abu Dhar remained in Syria, where, perceiving the greediness of Moa'wiah for worldly goods, and for raising high edifices, he opened the mouth of admonition and reproval as follows: 'Thy acts and doings are not in conformity with the glorious *Sonna* of his lordship the best of creatures, and thy behaviour is not like that of the two Sheikhs' It is said that in a private assembly Moa'wiah one day called, by a slip of the tongue, the house of property [*i.e.*, public treasury] the house of Allah, whereon Abu Dhar exclaimed: 'Thou wilt have to account to the Lord most high on the

[40] A.H. 32 began on August 12, A.D. 652.
[41] About Abu Dhar see Part II., vol. ii., p. 661, of this work.

day of reckoning for having said "the house of Allah"; thou must say, "the house of the property of the Musalmâns"; it is necessary to disengage thyself in this world from the disposal of it, whereas having tampered with the public property thou art unwilling to spend it on worthy objects.' Moa'wiah, being displeased with these words, sent the following letter to O'thmân: 'If thou desirest to retain possession of the province of Syria, send Abu Dhar to another country, because he will make the people of this province disloyal to thee and to me.' O'thmân wrote in reply: 'Behave kindly and politely towards Abu Dhar, but send him to us on some pretext.' When Moa'wiah had received the letter of O'thmân, he said to Abu Dhar: 'Orders for thee have arrived from O'thmân, to go to Madinah.' Abu Dhar replied: 'I hear and obey.' Some days afterwards he started, and after passing over the distance reached O'thmân, who received him with kindness, and cultivated friendly intercourse with him; but he made himself disagreeable in spite of all these civilities, and said one day to O'thmân. 'The giver of the *Dzakât*[43] must not confine his benevolence to his own relatives and tribe-men.' By the 'giver of *Dzakât*' he meant O'thmân, and Ka'bu-l-akhbâr, having understood the import, then said: 'Whoever has fulfilled the ordinance of God has acquitted himself of his duty to Him.' Then Abu Dhar struck Ka'b, with a hooked club he had in his hand, in such a manner that he broke his head, and blood flowed, and sitting by his side would have continued the assault if O'thmân had not interfered, and said: 'Abu Dhar, fear God the Most High and Glorious, and restrain thy tongue and hands from Musalmâns; if thou art, however, unable to live amicably with the people, then retire to some other place, and return when it is necessary.' Abu Dhar replied: 'I shall do so; for I have heard the apostle of God say: "Poor Abu Dhar! He will live alone, die alone, and be resuscitated alone." I likewise heard that prince say: "Poor Abu Dhar! When buildings extend as far as Baqyi', thou wilt go out from

[43] Legal alms, which are of indispensable obligation.

Madinah." As now the houses have reached Baqyi', I am bound to act according to the words of the apostle.' O'thman then gave him a few camels and some sheep, whereon Abu Dhar left Madinah with his family and two slaves of his, established himself at Rabzah, and lived there till he joined the proximity of Divine mercy [*i.e.*, till his death]. It is recorded in some books that when Abu Dhar departed, O'thmân forbade everybody to insult him. A'li the Commander of the Faithful, nevertheless, went out with A'mmâr Yâser to squabble, and Merwân B. Alhukum, who met them on the road, said: 'Why do you act contrary to the order of O'thmân?' Then a dispute arose between Merwân and Murtadza A'li, who thereon struck the camel of Merwân with his whip between the ears, and then Merwân went away to complain to O'thmân. When, afterwards, O'thmân met A'li, he said to him: 'Merwân is aggrieved with thee for having struck his camel between the ears.' His lordship replied: 'See my camel is standing in front of thy house; order Merwân to go out and to strike it with his whip between the ears, to obtain satisfaction.'

THE ENMITY WHICH AROSE BETWEEN SA'D B. ABU WOQQÂSS AND THE NOTABLES OF KÛFAH.

In the year 30 A.H.,[43] a dispute and contention arose for some reason between Sa'd B. Abu Woqqâss, the Governor of Kûfah, and between Mâlek Ashtar Nahaghy, in consequence of which the latter was so beaten during an assembly that he lost consciousness:

> Now thou strikest me with a stone, and now with a fist;
> Thou playest a game, but wilt kill me.

When Mâlek had recovered his senses, he returned sorrowful and dismayed to his house. This event displeased the notables of Kûfah and augmented their previous discontent. The explanation of this state of affairs is that the inhabitants of Kûfah had conceived affection for Wolyd B. O'tbah B. Abu Mo'ytt, and that on account of his politeness the

[43] A.H. 30 began on September 4, A.D. 650.

notables of that locality had treated him lovingly. After his removal, Sa'd arrived in Kûfah, and ordered the pulpit of Wolyd to be destroyed, so as to get rid of his impure memory. His orders having necessarily been executed, he appointed a man to restrain the amusements of the people of Kûfah. As he was very ascetic, he refrained from all politeness in the transaction of affairs, and the people hated him. When Sa'd had degraded Mâlek Ashtar as has been narrated above, the aversion of the chiefs of Kûfah increased so that his equals, such as Thâbet B. Qays Nahaghy and Zaid B. Saûhânu-l-a'bdy, and Jund B. Ka'b Alazdy and U'rwah B. Alja'd, and A'mru B. Alhamaq Alkhozaa'y, discussed in their meetings the character of Sa'd as wicked and despicable; they also abased him in the sight of the population, and calumniated O'thmân likewise. They held nightly meetings in a certain place, and Sa'd, having become aware of the fact, sent an officer to disperse the assembly, but as soon as he entered the notables of Kûfah said to him: 'Who art thou to enter this house without permission?' They then ordered their servants to punish him, and he was beaten till he lost consciousness. When he recovered his senses, he waited on Sa'd and informed him of what had taken place. Sa'd then despatched a letter to Madinah, representing the case to O'thmân, who ordered the names of the culprits to be registered in the army of Syria, and those men to be forwarded to that country whether they were willing or not. Sa'd obeyed the behest, and sent the grandees of Kûfah to Moa'wiah in Syria, but they disagreed also with him and quarrelled, whereon Moa'wiah sent the following message to O'thmân: 'The men of Kûfah possess neither religion nor humanity, but let the Amir judge.' O'thmân sent in reply the following injunction: 'Those headstrong persons are to be sent to A'bdu-r-rahman B. Wolyd at Hamss, that he may soften their necks in the proper manner.' Moa'wiah then sent the notables of Kûfah to Hamss, which they reached in due course of time, and where A'bdu-r-rahman kept them one month unemployed and without speaking a kind word

to them. After that he wrote to Othmân: 'Whom good will not reform, evil will not reform:

'If where punishment ought to be inflicted
Thou appliest kindness, it will be of no use.

If the Amir consents, I shall deal with the Kûfah people according to their deserts.' O'thmân having given him leave to act as he thought proper, A'bdu-r-rahman admitted the chiefs of Kûfah after the expiration of a month to his audience, but neither allowed them to sit down nor spoke to them. After Mâlek Ashtar had with his friends been standing awhile in front of A'bdu-r-rahman, they returned, and every day their attendance in this manner was insisted upon. When their weariness had thus reached its utmost limits, they craved permission from A'bdu-r-rahman to depart from Hamss, and having obtained it, they returned to Kûfah, except Mâlek-Ashtar, who remained in that country.

Rebellion in Kûfah, and Government of Abu Mûsa Asha'ry.

When O'thman had, in A.H. 34,[44] called Sa'd B. Abu Woqqâss to Madinah for a purpose which will be mentioned further on, and all the notables of Kûfah had by command dispersed to other provinces, so that none but turbulent and rebellious persons were left in the town, which contained no longer any man of respectability, a desire of breaking the allegiance to O'thmân having taken possession of the mind of Zaid B. Qays, he collected a number of vagabonds in the mosque of Kûfah and proposed to them the removal of the Khalifah. Those persons feeling aggrieved by the recall of Wolyd and the appointment of Sa'd, hated O'thmân, and considered the present opportunity an excellent one. Having heard of this proceeding, A'mru B. Haryss, who had been appointed lieutenant of Sa'd [during his absence], entered the mosque, ascended the pulpit, and warned the rebels. When also Qa'qa' B. A'mru had

[44] A.H. 34 began on July 22, A.D. 654.

obtained information that Zaid was engaged in exciting a rebellion, he entered the mosque with his followers, and asked angrily: 'What assemblage is this, and what is the reason for it?' Zaid uttered some incoherent words and continued: 'We have assembled to complain of Sa'd.' Qa'qa' said: 'If you have a grievance against him you must go to Madinah, and represent it to the Khalifah, that he may appoint another man to govern you. Why do you raise all this tumult and disturbance in the mosque to complain about Sa'd?' Having expelled the rebels by threats from the mosque, he also dispersed them. When Zaid B. Qays perceived what had taken place, he consulted his brother Thâbet, and they arrived at the conclusion to invite Mâlek Ashtar, who was an officer of influence, hoping to attain their object by his aid. They sent to him swift couriers, and he arrived in a short time at Kûfah, and having met the inhabitants, said to them: 'Although I have come from Hamss, I heard that Sa'd had represented you in a very bad light to O'thmân, and had said that the people of Kûfah ought to be forced to emigrate from their town.' The inhabitants were deceived by this allegation of Mâlek, and paid him homage on condition of not admitting Sa'd into the place in case he should return. On this occasion Mâlek heard that Sa'd had already arrived in the neighbourhood of Kûfah; therefore he ordered it to be proclaimed in the markets that everyone desirous to support Mâlek and to repel Sa'd ought to come out from his house. Then numbers of the low and of the high classes having gone out, met Sa'd on the road arriving with ten servants. When Sa'd perceived the forces of the inhabitants of Kûfah, he became frightened, and they said to him: 'Return immediately, because we do not want thee to be governor.' Sa'd replied: 'There was no necessity for all this disturbance and confusion; you ought to have sent a courier to Madinah with the information that another man be appointed to this post.' When Sa'd was about to depart, Mâlek said to him: 'Tell O'thmân that if he desires the people of Kûfah to remain loyal to him, he must send Abu

Mûsa Asha'ry to govern them.' Having returned to Madinah, Sa'd represented the state of affairs to O'thmân, who complied with the wish of the people of Kûfah, and sent Abu Mûsa Asha'ry to govern them, who, when he arrived in the town, was received with demonstrations of honour and respect, and he having loaded their ears with pearls of salutary advice, the dust of rebellion and confusion was laid for some days.

An Intrigue, and the Rejection of Homage to Abu Mûsa Asha'ry by many.

Ebn Alaswad, who is in Persian histories called A'bdullah Sabâ, was a Jewish priest of Saana'a, who, imagining that O'thmân would respect and honour him, went to Madinah, made a profession of the Faith, and was enrolled among the adherents of Islâm. Having, however, found that the beauty [*i.e.*, favour] he coveted had remained within the curtain of retirement, he began to associate with some companions who harboured ill-will in their hearts towards O'thmân, and entering into friendly relations with them, he spoke evil of O'thmân like themselves, and, blaming him, opened the gate of rebellion and disturbance. When O'thmân learnt what was taking place, he said, 'Who is this Jew, after all, that I should bear all this from him?' and at last ordered his expulsion from Madinah. As A'bdullah knew that there were many opponents of O'thmán in Egypt, he went to that country, and succeeded in beguiling many persons by his piety and science. After having gained the attention of these people, he informed them that the Christians were saying: 'Jesus having returned, will descend from heaven to earth,' whereas it is well known to everybody that the seal of the prophets —u. w. bl.—is superior to Jesus—u. w. bl.—therefore he is more likely to return first; the more so because God the Most High and Glorious has also spoken to this effect, thus: '*Verily He who hath given thee the Qurân for a rule* [of faith and practice] *will certainly bring thee back home*'

[unto Mekkah].[45] When the silly Egyptians had believed these words of A'bdullah, he said to them: 'Every prophet had a Khalifah [*i.e.*, successor] and legatee, and the Khalifah of the apostle is A'li, who is decorated with the ornaments of asceticism, piety, knowledge and understanding, being also endowed with liberality, bravery and uprightness. The people have, nevertheless, disregarded the wish of Muhammad—u. w. bl.—and have done injustice to A'li. They have thrown to the wind his Khalifate and his right. It is now indispensably necessary and incumbent upon the denizens of this world to aid him, as well as a duty to approve of all he says or does, and to obey his behests implicitly. Many Egyptians, having believed the words of Ebn Alaswad, stepped out from the circle of obedience and loyalty to O'thmân, so that both in Egypt and in Kûfah the affairs of the opponents were in the ascendant. Thereon O'thmân despatched A'mmâr B. Yâser to Egypt and Muhammad B Moslamah to Kûfah, to ascertain whether only the silly people had been beguiled, or whether also intelligent persons were seconding them in their disloyalty. When A'mmâr arrived in Egypt he commingled with those people, and sent no news whatever, but Muhammad B. Moslamah sent the information that the intelligent were mixed up with the fools, and had together excited this rebellion. This information increased the fear of O'thmân.

Some Events which were the Causes of the Discontent of the People in those Days.

One of the causes was that O'thmân removed the companions of the apostle from their posts, and appointed to them young men of his own family, namely, the Bani Ommyah. Furthermore, he drew the line of oblivion over the circumstances of Merwân B. Alhukum B Ala'ass, and recalled him to Madinah, although his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. bl.—had expelled him with his children from the city on account of his rudeness, A'bu Bakr driving

[45] Qurân, ch. xxviii 85.

him one station further, and O'mar likewise. He also gave a daughter of his in marriage to Merwân B. Alhukum, and enrolled another upon the string of the wives of his brother Hâreth B. Alhukum, taking a great deal of money from the public treasury and bestowing it upon them. He also crowned the expectations of Merwân by giving him a share in the fifth part of the booty of Africa, and appointing him his wazir.—He ordered the people to use one copy of the Qurân, which had been compiled at his behest, and to burn all others which they were reading in various dialects, and accusing each other of infidelity in consequence.—He held full prayers in Menâ, allowed Abu Dhar to be expelled, and however much people complained of certain officials, he would not remove them.—The wickedness of Merwân impeded many of the nobles and grandees, such as A'li the Prince of the Faithful, and Ebn A'bbâs, and Ttolhah, and Zobeyr from attending at the residence of the Khalifate as in former times; and this news having spread far and wide in the country, encouraged the opponents to such a degree that they sent messages round to the effect that all desirous to wage war for the religion ought to betake themselves to Madinah. When O'thmân obtained cognizance of these rebellious intentions, he summoned Moa'wiah, and A'bdullah B. A'amer, and A'bdullah B. Sa'd Abu Sarj, and Sa'd B. Ala'ass to Madinah, whereon they, having appointed lieutenants to govern Syria, Bossrah, Egypt and Kûfah, betook themselves to the residence of the Khalifate. O'thmân, having consulted the just-named Amirs on the manner of putting a stop to the efforts of the opponents and rebels, they arrived at the conclusion that everyone should return to his own province and do his utmost to coerce and annihilate the rebels, while O'thmân himself would undertake to keep the population of Madinah in order. On that occasion Moa'wiah had an interview with Ka'bu-l-akhbâr, in which he said: 'I apprehend that the foes will suddenly lay hands on O'thmân and will kill him.' Ka'b replied: 'Such an event would be irremediable, but depends upon fate.' Moa'wiah continued: 'Would that I

knew who will govern the Musalmâns after O'thmân, so that I might pay him homage?' Ka'b said: 'The choice will be in thy hands, but after a great deal of bloodshed.' These words of Ka'b raised the wish for dominion in the mind of Moa'wiah, who had heretofore not considered himself worthy of this high dignity. When Moa'wiah was on the point of returning, he said to O'thmân: 'Foes have risen in all directions, they are bent on thy destruction, and thy mind is much embarrassed how to coerce them; it would be proper for thee to depart to Syria, because thou hast numerous adherents in that country.' O'thmân replied: 'Allah forbid that I should separate from the exalted pulpit and from the sacred mausoleum of the apostle of God—u. w. bl.'

> The liver may be full of pain, the heart full of blood;
> Thou art life, how can I exist one moment without thee?

Moa'wiah continued: 'If thou wilt permit, I shall send an army to encamp around Madinah and to guard thee.' O'thmân replied: 'In this manner most of the fifth and of the booty would have to be spent on it, while the neighbours of the apostle—u. w. bl.—would be tried by the calamity of penury.' Moa'wiah said: 'O'thmân, be on thy guard of the stratagems of foes, because thy staying in the land of Yathreb [*i.e.*, Madinah] is fraught with calamities.' O'thmân replied: I shall patiently bear any calamity or reverse of fortune. I prefer the future to the present life, and I consider my nearness to the favourite of the Lord of worlds of more value than the whole universe.'

Then all the Amirs returned to their posts, and, as has already been narrated, the people of Kûfah would not allow Sa'd B. Woqqâss to govern them. It is related that when the misdemeanour of the agents of O'thmân had reached its utmost bounds, the people lengthened the tongue of blame and disapproval against O'thmân, many of them also discussing the subject with A'li the Commander of the Faithful, who thereon had an interview with O'thmân, and said: 'O father of A'mru, the people are

uttering such and such sentiments about thy officials. I swear by God that I do not know what to say to thee, because whatever I know of probity and dishonesty, or of justice and tyranny, is also known to thyself. Our ears and intellects have for years been adorned by listening to the salutary conversations of his lordship the prince of the righteous, so that neither Abu Quhâfah nor Ebn Khattâb enjoyed greater familiarity than thyself with his lordship the apostle. It is known to thee that on the day of reckoning the just Emâm will be the most excellent who walks on the path of rectitude, directs others to the straight road, revives abandoned ordinances and promulges honesty; and the worst of creatures in the sight of God the Most High and Glorious will be the unjust Emâm, who, having strayed from the right path, throws others into the desert of aberration, neglects well-known ordinances, and revives abandoned superstitions. I fear thou wilt be slain by turbulent and rebellious men, and that the sword will not be taken off from this nation till the day of the resurrection.' O'thmân replied: 'O father of Hasan, if thou wert in my position I would never blame thee, and if thou wert to disregard the bonds of consanguinity I would not reproach thee. Thou art aware that O'mar had appointed Moghyrah B. Sha'bah, whose acts are known, to a governorship, and had entrusted Moa'wiah with the administration of Syria; and although I, considering our relationship, have made A'bdullah B. A'amer Governor of Bossrah, and have left Moa'wiah in his post, what fault have I committed thereby?' A'li the Commander of the Faithful replied: 'When O'mar heard of the least reprehensible act of an official he removed him and punished him to the utmost, whereas thou art remiss and tardy in this matter. Moa'wiah and all the officials of O'mar feared him more than his own slaves feared him.' Some allege that A'li also said: 'O'mar put a bridle in the nose of everyone whom he appointed to a governorship, whereas thou hast lengthened his rope' [*i.e.*, given him more power]. After this interview the Commander of the Faithful returned to his domicile, and

O'thmân, leaving his own, ordered the people to assemble, whereon he addressed them reproachfully, saying: 'I have heard certain reports concerning you, and you have ere this uttered similar disparaging words about O'mar. He was a strict man, and kept your heads down by punishments, whereas I deal kindly with you. This has encouraged you to such an extent that you have spoken improper words about me. It will now be suitable for you that, restraining your hands from the skirts of my honour, you withdraw your tongues into the palate of silence, that you may enjoy safety.' After that Merwân B. Hukum threatened them with capital punishment and bloodshed, but O'thmân prohibited him from giving vent to such expressions.

Arrival of Persons from Kûfah, and Account of the First Disturbance in Madinah.

In Rabyi'-l-awwal, A.H. 35,[46] discontented persons of every town arrived in Madinah to lodge complaints against their governors. The people of Madinah asked those men why they had assembled, and they replied: 'We have come to request O'thmân either to put a stop to the wickedness of our tyrannical governors, or to appoint righteous men in their stead.' The insurgents having uttered these and stronger words of discontent, O'thmân became desirous to know whether any of the inhabitants of Madinah agreed with them in these sentiments or not. He therefore sent two of his confidential men to enter into friendly relations with those people, to associate much with them, and to bring information; whereon they conveyed the news to O'thmân that A'mmâr B. Yâser and Warqâ B. Râfi', the Anssâry, had made common cause with the malcontents. Having received this information, O'thmân ordered the prominent Mohâjer, chief Anssâr, great followers [*Tâbi'yn*], and other sections of Musalmâns, to assemble in the mosque. He then offered thanks and praises to the Lord of glory, and harangued the congre-

[46] Part of September and October, A.D. 655.

gation as follows: 'People have arrived from various provinces, and the essence of their words is this: "Unless O'thmân abdicates the Khalifate we shall kill him."' The chiefs of the Mohâjer and the Anssâr replied: 'They themselves are worthy of death, because we have heard his lordship the apostle say: "If any man, setting forth his own claims, opposes the Emâm of the period, let the curse of God be on him; you must kill him."' O'thmân said: 'One of the crimes attributed to me is that I have held the full prayers at Menâ, whereas the apostle and Abu Bakr shortened them in that locality, but my reply is that I had my family with me, and they had not theirs. I am also accused of having burned Qurâns, but by this proceeding I aimed at the extinction of differences among the people with regard to the word of God.' Having thus disposed of the grievances of his opponents, he said: 'I shall not defile my hands with their blood at present, but if they openly manifest their opposition I shall know how to deal with them.' In that meeting it appeared plainly that O'thmân had justified himself against those aspersions, and he returned to his house. The insurgents then said to each other: 'O'thmân has many friends and well-wishers in Madinah, whereas we have come without any preparations. It will be proper for us now to depart, and to return with a display of forces in order to attain our object.' After the malcontents had departed, his true friends advised him to issue orders for the removal of his officials, but he demurred in spite of all their efforts, and this obstinacy augmented their dismay and sorrow.

Egyptians and Opponents arrive in Madinah, and Account of Various Disturbances.

There is a tradition that in those times the Bani Hozayl, the Bani Mahzûm, and the Bani Ghufâr felt aggrieved on account of the want of consideration displayed by O'thmân towards A'bdullah B. Musu'd, the Hozayly, and Abu Dhar Ghuffâry, and A'mmâr Yâser, and that therefore many of them came from Egypt to Madinah, where they lodged

complaints against their governor A'bdullah B. Sa'd Abu Sarj, whereon O'thmân wrote a letter to Abu Sarj, in which he admonished and threatened him, ordering him to make efforts and to quell the discontent of the oppressed. A'bdullah, however, killed some of them, punishing others by scourging and torture. These blamable proceedings of Abu Sarj so incensed the people of Egypt that a number of their great men, such as O'lqamah, and A'bdu-r-rahman B. A'dys Alsalwy, and Kenânah B. Bashr Allythy, and Sûdân B. Hamrân Alsakûny departed to Madinah with one thousand valiant men and troopers for the purpose of putting an end to the tyranny of A'bdullah B. Sa'd Abu Sarj. They were accompanied also by Muhammad B. Abu Bakr and Muhammad B. Hudhayfah, and were joined likewise, for the sake of convenience, by people from Kûfah, such as Mâlek Ashtar Nahaghy, and Zyâd B. Nassar Alhârethy, and Abdullah B. Alhashym, and Zaid B. Sauhân Ala'bdy, as well as by a company from Bossrah, with Hakym B. Hylah Ala'bdy and Bashyr B. Shirakh B. Hukum B. A'bûdu-l-a'bdy and Ebn Mahras B. A'mru Alhanafy. After they had traversed the necessary distance they encamped in the vicinity of Madinah. The favourite of the people of Bossrah was Ttolhah; of those of Kûfah, Zobeyr; and of the Egyptians, A'li. The insurgents having interviewed the companions of the apostles—u. w. bl.—complained of the plenipotentiaries of O'thmân and their tyrannical behaviour, saying: 'Of a number of unjust acts perpetrated by A'bdullah B. Sa'd, one was that he slew some of the complainants who had brought him the admonitory letter of O'thmân, and caused grief to their tribe.' When the noble companions had heard this news, they opened their mouths in reprobation against O'thmân, and Ttolhah, rising to his feet in that assembly, severely blamed O'thmân and averred that something must be done for those people. A'ayshah, who felt at that time aggrieved for some reason towards O'thmân, and was bent on injuring him, appointed some men to oppose him, and said: 'The robes of the apostle—u. w. bl.—are yet new, while his

ordinances have become worn out.' She also sent angry messages to O'thmân.—Murtadza A'li entered with some notable Mohâjer and Anssâr the assembly of O'thmân, and said: 'The chiefs of Egypt feel aggrieved on account of the tyranny and bloodshed perpetrated by their governor; wherefore it will now be proper to remove him and to appoint another man in his place.'

It has reached us from some traditions that when the insurgents had encamped near Madinah, they sent during the night a messenger to A'li the Commander of the Faithful, to Ttolhah, and to A'mmâr Yâser, to inform them of their intentions.—O'thmân, who feared his enemies, went to the house of A'li, and said to that lord who was the receptacle of Vicarship: 'We are closely related to each other, and I am under many obligations to thee. Thou hast great power and influence with these people who are bent on killing me, and I request thee to do thy best to pacify them, and not to allow them to enter my residence, because, in the contrary case, they and other rebels would only be encouraged in their temerity.' The Amir of the Faithful replied: 'I have advised thee many times, and pointed out the way in which this rebellion may be quelled. While I was present in the assembly thou hast appeared to agree with me, but after I had departed thou hast, in consequence of the speeches of men who bear no love towards me, considered it proper to disregard my advice.' O'thmân replied: 'O father of Hasan, I shall now listen with a sincere heart to what thou sayest, and shall pay no attention to the suggestions of interested men, whom I shall avoid.' The lord and receptacle of the Vicariate assented to the request of O'thmân, and proceeded with a number of great Mohâjer and Anssâr to the camp of the Egyptian chiefs, whom he succeeded, by sweet words and heart-ravishing compliments, in persuading to desist from obstinacy and opposition, recommending to them conciliation and union. When this transaction had been reported to the third Khalifah, O'thmân summoned the various classes of the community, ascended the pulpit, apologized,

complimented, and wept, whereby the people also felt much touched. When his lordship had returned to his house, the people gathered around his door from goodwill and sincerity, desirous of meeting him again, and to open their mouths in praise and gratitude to him. On that occasion Merwân B. Hukum reproached O'thmân, saying: 'Thy opponents had not much power to resist thee, and it weighed but little when tried on the balance of intellect; but the son of Abu Ttâleb [*i.e.*, A'li] has magnified this affair to place thee under obligations to him, and to increase his reputation among the people; this ought to be brought to their cognizance and promulged, because it entails many advantages.' Having said these words, Merwân came out from the house, insulted the people, and dispersed them with many rude ejaculations. The various classes of Musalmâns of the city, as well as from abroad, took these insults to heart, but waited for an opportunity to avenge themselves.—There is a tradition that the people of Egypt and of Kûfah having agreed to resist O'thmân, came to Madinah, whereon O'thmân privately called Murtadza A'li, Ttolhah and Zobeyr, saying: 'The position of the Khalifate has been imperilled; if I have for some reason or other offended you, tell me, so that I may endeavour to make amends. I trust you will not allow my foes and opponents to excite a rebellion in this town, hoping that the administration of the Khalifate will devolve upon one of yourselves. You must not fail to aid me, because possibly the object of those who attempt to instigate and to direct you will not be attained, and it may be supposed that submission to any of you will not be permanent.' Ali Murtadza replied: 'What is that to thee? mayest thou be motherless!' O'thmân rejoined: 'Do not open thy mouth to insult my mother!' The lord and receptacle of the Vicariate continued: 'Thou hast, contrary to Abu Bakr and to O'mar, stretched forth thy hand to rob the public treasury, and hast bestowed enormous sums upon thy near friends and relatives.' O'thmân replied: 'They have disregarded their own kindred who were destitute,

but I have given them, namely, to my poor relatives, something from the public treasure, so that whilst reserving it for meritorious persons they might also receive a share.' The Amir of the Faithful retorted: 'To each person not more than one thousand [dirhems] ought to have been given, whereas enormous sums have, by thy orders, been paid from the public treasury to A'bdullah, to Khâled, and to Merwân B. Alhukum.' O'thmân said: 'If this be against your consent, I shall repay those sums from my private property to the administrator of the public treasury.' They said: 'If thou wilt do so, thou mayest rely on our aid all thy life.' The next day O'thmân summoned the companions to his presence, and said: 'A number of persons have come to this town to depose me, saying that if I demur they will slay me. What is your opinion in this matter, and how am I to deal with the people?' Those who were present replied: 'All ought to be killed, because it is licit to shed their blood!' O'thmân continued: 'I shall not kill them for this reason, but will do so if they wage war against me. I have called you here to enumerate the aspersions cast upon me by my foes, and to note your replies.' They, however, repeated: 'To shed the blood of rebels is licit! Be not remiss in this affair.' When the opponents were informed of the unanimity of the companions, they said: 'We have not the strength to fight with the people of Madinah; let us now return to our habitations, and come again fully prepared on a favourable occasion, when we shall not abandon O'thmân until we have annihilated him.' After holding a consultation they returned to their countries, but arrived at an agreement to assemble again in Madinah the next year, namely, in the month Showâl, A.H. 35.[47]

When they had arrived in their respective countries they engaged in enlisting troops, whereon they again departed, and arrived in Madinah during the month Showâl of the just-mentioned year. The forces of Egypt, of Bossrah, and of Kûfah consisted each of four battalions, each being in

[47] The month Showâl of A.H. 35 began on April 2, A.D. 656.

command of one of the grandees. These forces encamped in three localities near Madinah, all being bent on removing O'thmân and appointing another Khalifah in his stead. After obtaining cognizance of what was taking place, the denizens of Madinah prepared and armed themselves, and the rebels, hearing this, sent two envoys with the message: 'Our coming is fraught with kindness and abstinence from evil, and nothing more.' The people of Madinah having thus been quieted, some of the strangers said to them: 'The object of this invasion is to compel O'thmân to remove the evil of tyranny from the heads of the people, and to appoint good men to govern the country.' Then fifty of the men from Egypt waited privately on the Commander of the Faithful [*i.e.*, A'li], and said: 'Thou art the Emâm by right; if O'thmân refuses to abdicate the Khalifate, we shall abase him.' The lord and receptacle of the Vicarship thereon opened his mouth to reprove them, saying: 'What have you to do with removing or appointing a Khalifah?' The Bossrah people then made the same proposal to Ttolhah and Zobeyr, but received similar answers, so that all were disappointed in their expectations. On this occasion A'mru B. A'ass went to O'thmân, and said: 'Repent of the faults of which the Musalmâns are accusing thee.' O'thmân blamed him, and considered himself free from errors, whereon A'mru B. A'ass said: 'One of thy faults is that thou hast given an appointment to the apostate A'bdullah B. Abu Sarj, and hast removed me, although I have been a favourite of the lord of apostleship, of Abu Bakr and of O'mar.' A contention having ensued between O'thmân and A'mru, the latter departed aggrieved from the meeting and openly instigated persons to kill O'thmân, saying: 'It is licit to shed his blood.' During the night, O'thmân paid a visit to A'li and requested him to make efforts to extinguish the flame of the rebellion, and his lordship walked, the next day, with the companions of the apostle to the assembly of the opponents, and dissuaded them from their purpose. On that occasion, Merwân said to O'thmân: 'On account of

thy sending A'li to the opponents, they imagine thee to be extremely weak and abased, and that the right is on their side. It is now time to let them know that thou canst ward them off, and that they have unjustly rebelled against thee.' O'thmân, having been deceived by the words of Merwân, said to some people of Madinah: 'As the opponents had no proper reasons, they have stopped their proceedings and have repented.' A'mru B. A'ass, who was among them, rejoined: 'O'thmân, fear God, and flee to the asylum of repentance, because we have quieted these people with fair promises.' O'thmân retorted: 'A'mru, restrain thyself, and do not talk nonsense! Who art thou to command me to repent?' On this occasion he heard from all sides of the mosque the shout: 'O'thmân, repent of thy doings, and take hold of the jugular vein of penitence!' Then stones were thrown at him, he was taken down from the pulpit, his staff was broken, he lost consciousness, and some persons, taking him on their shoulders, carried him to his house. Then A'li the Commander of the Faithful paid a visit to O'thmân, and said: 'O father of A'mru, what business hadst thou to deliver this address, since the people are aware that we have with much trouble succeeded in quieting the rebels?' O'thmân replied: 'The past cannot be recalled, and now I shall do whatever thou advisest.' A'li Murtadza, who appeared to be divinely inspired, said: 'Thou must convoke a meeting, apologize for thy sayings and doings, begging also pardon of the Musalmâns so as to make them all pleased.' O'thmân accordingly summoned the people to the mosque, ascended the pulpit, and said: 'O people, it is not hidden from you that the sons of Adam have committed and are committing mistakes, nor do I pretend to be infallible If I have done something wrong, it is no matter of astonishment, and the apostle has said that he who repents of a sin will be absolved therefrom. Now, I repent of whatever is displeasing to God and to yourselves, and as my life is drawing to a close, there is nothing better for me than penitence. Let anyone who has a request to

make proffer it, that it may meet with the best consideration.' Having uttered these words and made abundant apologies, O'thmân departed from the mosque and went to his house. When O'thmân had gone away, A'li Murtadza said in the same meeting: 'This man has done what was incumbent on him; may the grace of God accompany him!' Encouraged by this utterance, the people of Madinah hastened to the abode of the Khalifate, but Merwân stopped them at the door, and himself entered to O'thmân, and being seconded by Sa'd B. Ala'ass, they said to him: 'Thou hast this day committed a great mistake by confessing thy sins, and hast endeavoured to impair thy own authority. The advice given to thee by the son of Abu Ttâleb was aimed only at the destruction of thy honour, and at the establishment of thy guilt in the sight of all men. It will now be proper not to meet those persons who have assembled at thy door, because they are in a state of excitement, and may raise a tumult which could not be quelled.' O'thmân then said to Merwân: 'Send the people away, because shame hinders me from conversing with them.' Merwân then went out and darkened their pure and sincere intentions with rude words calculated to raise angry feelings. They then went to A'li the Amir of the Faithful, and represented to him that they had gone to the residence of O'thmân for the purpose of strengthening the bonds of harmony and love, but that Merwân had come out and insulted them. The lord and receptacle of the Vicarship, being displeased with this news, betook himself to O'thmân, and, reproaching him, said: 'How much so ever we may be endeavouring to ameliorate thy affairs, thou nullifiest all our efforts through the interference of Merwân. How could Merwân, who is puzzled how to arrange his own affairs, ameliorate and arrange thine? He will soon throw thee into a well from which thou wilt be unable to come out. I am determined to come to thee no more, and no longer to meddle with thy affairs.' When A'li left O'thmân, his wife, Nâylah, the daughter of Alqurâdzah, said to him: 'O'thmân, do not withdraw thy hand from

the skirt of union with A'li B. Abu Ttâleb, and be not beguiled by the deceitful words of Merwân, because the former adheres to rectitude and safety, while the latter follows his evil and wicked impulses.'

There is another tradition to the effect that after the people had become bold, had thrown stones at O'thmân, and he was carried to his domicile, A'li the Commander of the Faithful went to his house. When the eyes of O'thmân alighted on A'li, he closed them, and the Bani Ommyah, having given vent to rebellious expressions towards his lordship the receptacle of the Vicariate, he departed in anger, and never returned to the house of O'thmân until he had been killed. It is recorded in some traditions of the U'lamâ of histories, that when the people of various provinces and towns, bent on the murder and abdication of O'thmân, had assembled in Madinah, he closed the gate of his residence, and conversing with them from a window, asked: 'For what reason have you excited this rebellion and confusion, making it your business to be antagonistic and disloyal?' The crowd then reproached him for his acts, but he replied in appropriate terms of conciliation, and also said: 'I have heard the apostle say with his wonderfully eloquent tongue: "It is not licit to shed the blood of a Musalmân Amir except for one of three reasons: Infidelity after professing the Faith, adultery after good behaviour, and killing a person unjustly." I swear by God that from the time Divine guidance and favour had become the companions of my path, and the blessing of direction has been vouchsafed to me, it never entered my mind to change the brilliant religion for another, nor have I ever killed anyone unjustly. I swear by the majesty of the Sage to whom in all things the truth is patent, that I have not committed adultery either before nor after the promulgation of Islâm. I respected the person of the favourite of the Divine Majesty to such an extent that my right hand, which had come in contact with his blessed hand, never touched a sexual organ, and I have never stepped out from the circle of good manners.' The cavillers, whose wrath had subsided at

these words, agreed to make peace, except Kenânah B. Bashr and some of his relatives, who were bent o augmenting the dissension. On this occasion O'thmân consulted A'bdullah B. O'mar, and asked: 'What is the proper opinion in this matter?' Ebn O'mar, however, also queried: 'What is the intention of the opponents with reference to thee?' He replied: 'They aspire to deprive me of the administration in such a manner that I shall never regain it.' A'bdullah continued: 'Wilt thou, after abdicating the Khalifate, remain alive till the day of the resurrection?' He replied: 'No.' Ebn O'mar continued: 'My opinion is that thou shouldst not remove the yoke of the Khalifate from thy neck, and not be afraid of being murdered; unless thou actest thus, such a movement will become a precedent, so that whenever some people become wearied of the Emâm and Khalifah of the period, they will attempt to remove him. The apostle of God has said to thee: "Surrender not thy shirt except to Allah." This shirt is no other thing but the robe of the Khalifate. On the contrary, thou must refer thy opponents to the book of Allah the Most High and Glorious, and to the *Sonna* of the prophet. If they assent, all will be well, but if not, thou wilt be excused.' Then O'thmân sent Moghyrah B. Sha'bah, according to the advice of A'bdullah B. O'mar, to the people, to invite them to the book of Allah and to the *Sonna* of the apostle. Moghyrah, having met the rebels, opened the mouth of admonition towards them, but they replied: 'O profligate, lascivious and adulterous fellow, what business hast thou to admonish and to direct us?'—The reason for these epithets to Moghyrah was, that he had during the Khalifate of O'mar been accused of adultery. On that occasion, three respectable men bore testimony that he had committed the wicked act, while a fourth, desiring to be conciliatory, stated that he knew not whether it had been licit or illicit to him. After Moghyrah had returned, O'thmân despatched A'bdullah B. Salâm as an envoy to those people, who said to them when he arrived: 'O men, make no attempt to slay the Khalifah of the period! When

the apostle was sent, you were delivered from the calamities of the sword, and this state will continue among you as long as you agree to remain loyal to your Emâm; but if you slay the Khalifah of the apostle of God, and the sword has been drawn from its scabbard, it will not be returned to it till the end of all time. Moreover, from the time when the apostle of God chose to go into exile and arrived in Madinah, great angels are protecting this locality; if, however (which Allah forbid) you slay the Khalifah, they will cease to protect you, whereon you will have to contend with enemies. Furthermore, you are under various obligations to O'thmân, in consequence whereof you ought not to awaken him when you find him asleep. Moreover, his end is so near that he will be received into the proximity of Divine mercy before the expiration of the month Dhu-l-hejjah, which is not far off' When A'bdullah B. Salâm had terminated his allocution, Mâlek Ashtar, and Ghâfaqy, and Harfûdz B. Zobeyr, and all the rebels, began to insult A'bdullah, saying: 'O Jew, who art thou, after all,—to intrude among the magnates of Islâm and the great men of the nation!' Then they expelled him with ignominy from the assembly.—After A'bdullah B. Salâm, A'mru B. A'ass was sent as an envoy, but met with a similar reception, the rebels reminding him of the hypocrisy he had manifested in the time of ignorance [*i.e.*, before Islâm] towards the lord of apostleship, on several occasions. — When A'mru had returned stricken with shame, A'bdullah B. O'mar said: 'The opening of the door of the seraglio of our aspirations, and the attainment of our object, depend upon the world-adorning intellect and the difficulty-solving mind of A'li B. Abu Ttâleb.' He therefore waited on the lord and receptacle of Vicarship, requesting him to quench with the water of advice the fire burning in the ovens of the entrails of the advocates of opposition. A'li replied that O'thmân ought to promise to follow his advice in any arrangement he might propose for the quelling of the disturbance, and O'thmân having assented, A'li proceeded to the meeting of the rebels, the fire-sparks of whose wickedness he attempted

to extinguish with refreshing showers from the clouds of his magnanimity, and the innate abundance of the costly pearls of his eloquence, giving them also hopes that they would become recipients of great favours from O'thmân, and pledging himself to their fulfilment. He therefore went with the leaders of the people to the abode of the Khalifate, and said to O'thmân: 'The notables of the country of Egypt are complaining of the tyranny of A'bdullah B. Sa'd Abu Sarj, and entertain hopes that, having removed him, thou wilt appoint over them Muhammad B. Abu Bakr, who is decorated with the ornaments of piety and honesty.' O'thmân assented, complied with the request of the people, issued letters patent to Muhammad B. Abu Bakr appointing him Governor of Egypt, and the Egyptians, having obtained leave to depart, returned with him to their own country. The people of Kûfah and of Bossrah, having likewise obtained concessions and favours, also departed to their homes.

RETURN OF THE REBELS, AND MURDER OF O'THMÂN.

When Muhammad B. Abu Bakr had departed with the people of Egypt and had marched a few stages, they perceived a fellow mounted on the camel of O'thmân, and riding in all haste on the road to Egypt. According to the tradition of the author of the 'Ghoniah,' that individual was Aa'ur B Sofiân Salmy, but the majority of historians have recorded in their compositions that the said camel-rider was the slave of O'thmân, and (making allowance for this discrepancy) the Egyptians asked the camel-rider: 'Who art thou, and where art thou going?' He replied: 'I am a messenger of O'thmân, and bear a message from him to the Governor of Egypt.' They continued: 'The Governor of Egypt is here with us.' The man rejoined: 'My address is to A'bdullah B. Sa'd Abu Sarj.' They asked whether he had any letter with him, and he replied in the negative; but when they had well searched him, they found in his baggage a writing headed as follows: 'From O'thmân the Commander of the Faithful to A'bdullah B. Sa'd Abu Sarj.'

This writing having been perused, revealed this injunction: 'When the Egyptians have arrived in their country, kill such and such a one, and having done the same to so and so, hang him on a gallows, and cast all the rest of them into prison. Execute immediately what thou hast been ordered to do, carry on the administration of affairs, and expect further orders from me.' When Muhammad B. Abu Bakr and his companions had become aware of the contents of this letter, they despatched couriers to the people of Kûfah and Bossrah, to return to Madinah as speedily as possible, while they themselves also quickly hastened back to their own country, the great men of which they induced to assent to the murder of O'thmân, and then again departed to Madinah. When they had reached the city they narrated what had taken place to the lord and receptacle of the Vicariate, as well as to the most prominent companions of his holy and prophetic lordship, showing them the letter, and saying: 'After this treachery of O'thmân has been ascertained, it is licit to shed his blood.' Most of the inhabitants of Madinah thereon fell away from O'thmân, and made common cause with the rebels. A'li and Ttolhah and Zobeyr, and Sa'd B. Abu Woqqâss, with many others, now hastened from the fort of Musrakah to the residence of the Khalifate, and, meeting O'thmân, A'li, among others, asked: 'Who is the owner of the slave that went to Egypt?' O'thmân replied: 'I.' He further queried: 'Whose is the camel?' He answered: 'Mine' He asked: 'Was this letter which he carried written with thy cognizance?' He said: 'No.' He asked: 'Whose is the seal on that letter?' He said: 'It is my seal.' A'li Murtadza continued: 'How can this be weighed in the balance of intellect, that the slave and the camel are thine, and that the writing of the letter was not by thy orders?' O'thmân then swore an oath that he knew nothing about the sending of the slave and the writing of the letter. All the companions knew that he would not swear a false oath, and after an investigation it was ascertained that the letter was in the handwriting of Merwân. Accordingly Merwân,

who was living in the house of O'thmân, was summoned, and O'thmân having failed to lay his hand upon the breast of acquiescence to their wishes to surrender him to them, those blessed men departed from the assembly in anger, disapproving of O'thmân's protection of Merwân. Although the great companions knew that O'thmân could not act treacherously and fraudulently, there were others who said: 'Unless he surrenders Merwân to us that we may ascertain the true state of the case, our minds will never be set at rest.'—On this occasion A'ayshah openly displayed her enmity to O'thmân by encouraging the people to rebel against him, while many of the companions of the apostle —u. w. bl.—remained sitting in their houses and shut their doors against the people, and others, departing to their fields and estates, sought to keep aloof from the disturbances.

The rebels, having surrounded the house of O'thmân, deprived him of water; whereon he, distressed by thirst, despatched a messenger to A'li Murtadza to ask for some. The latter then sent by the slaves of the Bani Hâshem several leather bags full of water to O'thmân.—It is on record that when the rebels had returned to Madinah and had interviewed O'thmân, they said to him: 'If thou art cognizant of the sending of the slave with the letter it will be licit to shed thy blood, but if thou be not cognizant thou art deserving of removal for having entrusted the affairs of the Khalifate to a traitor capable of such acts without thy command.'—Some reporters of traditions have narrated that when the people of Egypt, Kûfah, and Bossrah had returned from their journey with the intention of exciting a rebellion, and had arrived in Madinah, most of the inhabitants of that pleasant locality agreed with them concerning the abdication of O'thmân, who thereon considered the matter, and had no other remedy but to apply to A'li. He therefore sent A'bdullah B Hâreth B. Naufaly to wait upon A'li the Commander of the Faithful to request him again to quell the fire of the insurrection and dissension. According to another state-

ment, he called Ali, and said to him: 'O father of Hasan, thou seest how far this matter has progressed! My life is not secure from those people, and if thou canst dissuade them from their intention, I shall grant them whatever they have a right to, but no more, even if all my blood be shed.' The Amir of the Faithful replied: 'Those persons who are quarrelling and contending with thee prefer thy abdication to thy death. I have quieted them with the promises thou hast given, but thou hast fulfilled none of them; therefore they will now care nothing for thy promises.' Now O'thmân swore an oath, and said: 'I shall spread out the carpet of justice and conciliation, and shall willingly grant them whatever is in conformity with the law [of the religion].' After this agreement, the Commander of the Faithful had an interview with the insurgents, and said: 'O'thmân has made an agreement with me that he will put a stop to all oppression, and will pull out by the roots the tree of tyranny which is growing on the river [*i.e.*, in the country] of the rebels, by drawing the line of removal upon the pages of the careers of tyrannical governors, and abasing them.' A document to this effect having been drawn up, and respite given [for the execution of the promised reforms], the notable Mohâjer and the noble Anssâr affixed their signatures to it; but when the day they had appointed elapsed without any change in the administration, the insurgents began to entertain suspicions concerning their affairs, and the malcontents heard that O'thmân was engaged in warlike preparations, and had sent couriers in various directions to summon troops for defeating them. While these events transpired, most of the denizens of Madinah occupied themselves in besieging O'thmân, to whom they sent messages that if he was willing to abdicate the Khalifate his life would be spared, and safety accorded to him; but in vain. When the insurgents had beleagured O'thmân twenty days, they heard that Qa'qa' B. O'mar and Habyb B. Fahrâz had marched from Syria with bloodthirsty troops to Madinah, for the purpose of reinforcing the Khalifah. For this

reason they pressed the siege more closely, and prohibited everyone from carrying food or drink to O'thmân, and to those who were confined with him, such as Sa'd B. Ala'ass and Merwân. A'li Murtadza, being apprised of these disgraceful proceedings of the rebels, addressed to them the following admonition: 'The Persians and the Byzantines do not withhold food and drink from their prisoners, and you, who are adherents of Islâm, are now practising this blamable trick! Abandon this pressure, and allow food and drink to be conveyed to the court of the Khalifate.' The people, however, replied: 'No, by Allah! As long as a spark of life remains in our bodies, O'thmân shall not be refreshed with a drink of water or a morsel of food.'—It is related that during the time of the siege O'thmân sent a messenger to A'li the Commander of the Faithful with the following words: 'Wilt thou allow the son of thy uncle to be killed with the sword of tyranny in abasement and misery, and thyself likewise to be robbed of the country and the Khalifate?' A'li Murtadza replied: 'I shall not allow the son of Khadzramah, namely, Ttolhah, to encompass thy death and to sit on the *masnad* of the administration.'—At the time O'thmân was being besieged, Ttolhah had obtained command over the public treasury, and considered himself as an autocrat in the administration of affairs.—In short, the lord and receptacle of the Vicariate ordered the Commander of the Faithful Hasan, and the Emâm Husain, to attend with drawn swords at the court of thè Khalifate, and not to allow anyone to approach O'thmân [with evil intentions]. Zobeyr likewise despatched his son A'bdullah to aid those two blessed individuals in the watch; whereon also Ttolhah, desirous to clear himself of surmises, sent his son with them, so that these four companions, having girded their loins for the preservation of the honour of the Khalifah of the period, did their best to bar the way of access.

It is said that in the days when O'thmân was besieged, A'ayshah departed to the Hejâz to perform the ceremonies of the pilgrimage, and to visit the house of Allah [*i.e.*, the

Ka'bah]. At that time, which was the season of the pilgrimage, also O'thmân mounted to the roof of the castle and called A'bdullah B. A'bbâs, wherefore the insurgents fancied that O'thmân would divest himself of the office of Khalifah in his presence, and accordingly sent a man to invite him to come. When Ebn A'bbâs arrived, O'thmân asked his lordship to assume the command of the pilgrimage, to start with them to Mekkah, and to perform the pilgrimage of Islâm with travellers from every region; some, however, allege that also at that time Ebn A'bbâs kept company with Hasan the Commander of the Faithful, and Husain, attending at the court of the Khalifate and warding off enemies. When O'thmân encouraged him to go to Mekkah, Ebn A'bbâs replied: 'I prefer to wage a *Jehâd* [holy war] with these people, than to travel to the Hejâz.' O'thmân would not approve of this excuse, and insisted more, accordingly, Ebn A'bbâs made preparations for visiting the sanctuary, and departed to it.—A'bdullah B. Abu Rabya'h says: 'Before the siege had become very close, I waited on O'thmân, mounted with him to the roof of the castle, and stood there. On that occasion Ttolhah made his appearance [outside], and whispered secretly a great deal to A'bdu-r-rahman B A'dys Albalwy, who was one of the chiefs of the insurgents, whereon A'bdu-r-rahman said to his followers: "Admit no one hereafter to enter to O'thmân, and likewise allow no one to come out." O'thmân then said to me: "Ttolhah has excited this rebellion and instigated these men against me." Then he raised the hand of helplessness to Him who stands in need of no help, and said: "O God! keep off the wickedness of Ttolhah from me; and I hope that he will be disappointed in his wish, and that his blood will be shed."'

A'bdullah B. A'bbâs says: 'When I was about to depart from the residence of the Khalifate, those people were hindering me, but I at last escaped alive from that dangerous position, under the protection of Muhammad B. Abu Bakr.—It is related that one day a companion of the apostle—u. w. bl.—asked leave from O'thmân to mount

on the roof of the castle in order to give him [privately] some advice. O'thmân having given him permission, that adviser said: "O'thmân, it will be proper for thee to fold up the carpet of the Khalifate, to remain safe from calamity." During this conversation, Kathyr B. Alssallat Alkindy shot an arrow from the roof of the castle, wounding him mortally. Hereon the rebels insisted on the surrender of Kathyr by O'thmân that they might retaliate on him; but he replied. "I do not wish to see one killed who may aid me." After this event the rebels set fire to the door of the Khalifate, and hastened from it, as well as from the roof to the castle of the Amirate. On that occasion Merwân B. Hukum and Sa'd B. Abu Woqqâss were with five hundred slaves of O'thmân standing ready to fight, in the domicile of O'thmân, where they had stood the siege, O'thmân, however, said to them: "Restrain yourselves from hostilities, and do not take useless trouble, because my affair has come to an end." Being asked how he knew this, he replied: "I have seen the prophet last night in my sleep, and have complained of the nation, but he said: 'Grieve not, for to-morrow thou wilt breakfast with me.'" Merwân then said: "As long as there is a spark of life in my body, no calamity will befall thine."—When the turbulent people had entered the mansion, a contest ensued between the two parties, so that the courtyard of the abode of the Khalifate was dyed purple with the blood of the combatants. Merwân advanced to the front, bent on forcing on a victory, the hand of fate, however, struck his neck with a sabre, but as no artery had been cut, death failed to ensue, and one of his slaves, taking him up, carried him out. The people, imagining Merwân to have been killed, became slack, and also Sa'd B. Ala'ass, having received a heavy wound, ceased to fight. The mill of war was yet turning when Muhammad B. Abu Bakr entered the room in which O'thmân was engaged in reading [the Qurân], and taking hold of his blessed beard, said "O son of O'ffan, what profiteth it thee now with A'bdullah B. Sa'd falling away, Merwân B. Hukum taken away, and Moa'wiah

released?" O'thmân replied, weeping: "If thy father Abu Bakr were alive, thou wouldst not have dared to treat me in this way." Then Muhammad let go the hold of his long beard and went out, whereon Kenânah B. Bashar entered with the intention of making an end of him with his sword, but A'bdu-r-rahman B. A'dys, and Soudân B. Hamrân and Ghâfaqy, shouted from the courtyard of the abode of the Khalifate: "Restrain your hands from such an act, because we do not stand in need of his blood." Kenânah having thus been checked, they entered the chamber, and said to O'thmân: "Abdicate the Khalifate, that no calamity may befall thee." He, however, replied: "I have been appointed to this office by God, and no one besides Him can deprive me thereof, and I offer you the book of Allah which is now in my lap." When the insurgents knew that O'thmân would not divest himself of the Khalifate, Ghâfaqy struck him, and blood issuing, dripped on the noble verse: "*Allah shall support thee against them, for He is the Hearer, the Wise.*"[48] When Soudân attempted to strike O'thmân with a sword, his wife Nâylah interposed, so that her wrist with the fingers of her hand was cut off. According to another tradition, Nâylah intended to take the sword of Soudân B. Hamrân from his hand, whereon he cut off her wrist, and then with Qunrah slew O'thmân The slaves of the oppressed O'thmân rushed into the chamber, killed one man, and Ghâfaqy having gone out, shouted: "Ttolhah, we have killed the son of O'ffan!" Although Ttolhah was not present, Ghâfaqy intended to let the people know that Ttolhah had sided with them in their hostility. When A'li the Commander of the Faithful had been apprised of the murder of O'thmân, he ran from the door of his house, slapped Hasan on the face, struck Husain on the breast, reproved A'bdullah B. Zobeyr and Muhammad B Ttolhah, saying: "How has the Khalifah of the apostle of God been slain, whereas I had given you orders to protect him from the assaults of his enemies?" As, however, they had a valid excuse, he distressed them no farther. It is said that

[48] Qurân, ch. ii., part of ver. 131.

O'thmân—may Allah be pleased with him—was slain on a Friday in the middle of the Tasharyq days,[49] and according to one tradition he was eighty-two years old, but some also allege that he was more aged. It is said that the duration of his Khalifate amounted to twelve years, less ten days. There is a tradition that a man asked A'li the Commander of the Faithful: "What thinkest thou of O'thmân?" He replied: "The noble verse, '*Those unto whom the most excellent* [reward of paradise] *had been predestined by us,*'[50] relates to those whose chief is O'thmân, and the verse, '*Those who have believed and done good works, and have feared* [God] *and believed, and persevered in fear* [of Him] *and have done good,*'[51] likewise relates to them." — Sa'd B. Almusyb having been asked about the circumstances of O'thmân, said: "He was killed oppressed, and his slayer was the oppressor; and he who fought not for him must be excused on account of the ambiguity of the circumstances. God was satisfied with him as a Khalifah because he was gentle, merciful, magnanimous and liberal; he was the chief of pure and innocent men, the leader of the well-directed and prosperous, the Amir of the just and the slayer of the wicked, praying all night." Sa'd also said: "He perused the book of Allah fully, and although he was brave when occasion required, he would not countenance hostilities, lest the blood of Musalmâns be shed; after his murder, however, the scimitar of rebelliousness having been drawn from the scabbard, victories came to an end, and the distribution of booty was cut short." '

It is on record that although A'ayshah had not been on good terms with O'thmân, she was much grieved and distressed when she was apprised of his death. She uttered the verse:

> '*We belong to Allah, and to Him we shall surely return.*[52]
> *If in the world a liberal man could be eternal,*
> *Thou wouldst be eternal, but no man living is eternal.*'

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[49] The time of the Tasharyq is three days after the festival of the victims, which is celebrated on the 10th day of Dhu-l-Hejjah.
[50] Qurân, ch. xxi. 101. [51] *Ibid.*, ch. v., last part of v. 94.
[52] *Ibid.*, ch. ii. 151.

Which means: 'If the life of a liberal man were prolonged by his liberality, God would have presented thee with eternal life.'—When Sa'd B. Abu Woqqâss heard of the death of O'thmân, he wept, and said: 'In the beginnings of Islâm I fled to Madinah to preserve my religion, and now I must depart from it for the same reason.'—In some books it is related that three days after he had been killed, no one cared to inter his blessed body, till at last Jobayr B. Mutta'm went with Hakym B. Khurâm to A'li the Commander of the Faithful to request him to ask A'bdu-r-rahman B. A'dys for permission to bury him in the cemetery of the Musalmâns. After their desire had been granted by the intervention of A'li Murtadza, they required a bier, but, although they asked much, nobody would lend them one, whereon they finally unhinged a door in the house of O'thmân, and placing his august body on it, conveyed it, for fear of a disturbance, between evening and bedtime, to [the cemetery of] Baqyi'; in spite, however, of the dark night, some turbulent fellows pursued them and threw stones at them. On that occasion Jobayr B. Mutta'm wept, and said: 'Considering all the mercy thou hast displayed, O Amir of the Faithful, I wonder why these persons behave so mercilessly.' After they had terminated [the funeral] prayers, three Anssâr chiefs arrived in Baqyi', and would not allow him to be interred in the cemetery of the Musalmâns, therefore they were under the necessity of burying him in an enclosure situated between the cemetery of the Jews and the Musalmâns. When, however, Moa'wiah had assumed the government, the wall of separation was removed, so that his grave was among those of the professors of Islâm.—After the sepulture of O'thmân, his wife Nâylah ordered the slaves who had fallen on the day of the conflict to be buried, but the Egyptians would not allow it, and threw them on the public road, where they were devoured by wolves and dogs.—At the time when O'thmân attained martyrdom, his agent in Mekkah was A'bdullah B. Khidzar; in Ttâyf, Qâsum B. Rabya'h Thaqafy; in Yemen, A'li B. Ommyah, who was also called A'li B. Muniah; and

in Bossrah, A'bdullah B. A'amer; in Kûfah, Abu Mûsa Asha'ry; in Syria, Moa'wiah B. Abu Sofiân; in Hamss, A'bdu-r-rahman B. Khâled Wolyd; in Falesttyn, O'lqamah B. Hakym; in Qarqesya, Jaryr B. A'bdullah Albakhly; in Adharbayjân, Ashâth B. Qays Kindy; in Essfahân, Sâyb B. Aqra'; in Hamdân, Bashyr B. Ommyah; in Ray, Say'd B. Qays; in Khorâsân, Ahnaf B. Qays, on behalf of A'bdullah B. A'amer. At that time the Qadzy of Madinah was Zaid B Thâbet; and of Mekkah, Abu Haryrah; and of Syria, Abu Durd. When Ahnaf B. Qays had in Balkh, the cupola of Islâm, heard of the martyrdom of O'thmân, he departed to Arabia, and, having performed the distance, arrived in Bossrah, where he resided for some time

Khalifate of the Victorious Lion of Allah, A'li B. Abu Ttâleb, the Amir of the Faithful.

The narrators of traditions disagree concerning the homage to his lordship, but what agrees most with suitability is as follows. When three days had elapsed after the murder of O'thmân, the men from Egypt requested A'li the Commander of the Faithful, that, having thrown a ray of regard upon the population, he should adorn the *masnad* of the Khalifate with his own august person, to irrigate and to refresh the gardens of the hopes of the subjects with abundant showers from the clouds of his mercy and beneficence. The Shâh and asylum of the Vicariate, however, replied: 'Your consent or dissent in my investment with the garland of the administration is not required, because the option in this important affair and great dignity will devolve upon those who have been present in [the battle of] Bedr, and their decisions in spiritual as well as mundane affairs are more excellent and preferable to those of others.' The men from Egypt then reported the words of A'li Murtadza to those blessed individuals, who thereon hastened not only themselves, but in the company of most of the associates of his holy and prophetic lordship, to the guidance-boding mansion [of A'li], and spoke as follows:

'Three days have expired since O'thmân, leaving the world empty of his noble presence, has departed to another, and the denizens of the world are under the necessity of appointing an Emâm! Considering thy perfect character, thy beautiful lineage, thy noble behaviour, thy great amiability, thy small regard for the amenities of the world, thy abundant desire for justice, and thy high aspirations, we consider thy merits superior to those of others, and therefore more deserving to administer the affairs of the Musalmâns; we therefore entertain hopes that thou wilt place us all under obligations by accepting the dignity of the Khalifate, which will certainly lead to a display of much clemency and kindness on thy part.' The Commander of the Faithful replied: 'At the moment when O'mar departed from the mansion of perishableness to that of eternity, I aspired to power, and desired to obtain supreme control over the administration. At present, however, I am of a different mind, ready to pay allegiance to anyone whom you may appoint to the Khalifate, because I prefer to be Wazir rather than Amir.' The great companions, however, unwilling to accept the refusal of his lordship the receptacle of the Vicariate, insisted only the more, and when the pressure of his friends had exceeded all bounds, the Amir of the Faithful said: 'This affair cannot be set agoing without the presence of Ttolhah and Zobeyr.' Accordingly the companions despatched a messenger to them, and those two noble individuals having placed the hand of acquiescence upon the bosom of the demand of that saved faction, sent the following reply: 'Upon whomsoever the lot of your choice may fall, we shall not fail to obey him.' As the possessors of sagacity were not contented with this answer, Mâlek Ashtar brought Ttolhah and Zobeyr into the assembly whether they were willing or not. The Lord A'li Murtadza thereon, having shown them respect and paid them compliments, addressed Ttolhah and Zobeyr as follows: 'The one of you two who is inclined for the Khalifate shall have my homage.' They, however, replied: 'Thou being in existence, who would think of wishing to attain this dignity?'

All having agreed to make A'li the Khalifah, the first man who placed his hand on that of A li to pay him homage was one whose hand had become useless in consequence of a wound he had received in the Ghazâ of Ohod.—Habyb B. Duyb said that the first man having paid allegiance with a paralyzed hand, this affair could never be completed; according to another tradition the words of Habyb were: 'A paralyzed hand does not complete an allegiance.' In some biographical works and books on religious wars the statement occurs that when Ttolhah paid homage to A'li Murtadza, the lord and receptacle of the Vicariate said: 'Ttolhah is more deserving [*sic*] to invalidate an agreement and to break a covenant.'—On that day the heads of most of the people of Madinah were exalted by paying homage to the Shâh of the asylum of Vicarship. A small faction, however, of the adherents of O'thmân preferred to walk on the improper way, and excluded themselves from the beatitude of paying homage, choosing to form an opposition. No'mân B. Bashir, the Annsâri, carried the lopped-off fingers of Nâylah, the wife of O'thmân, with the blood-stained robe of O'thmân, to Moa'wiah in Syria, some of the Bani Ommyah accompanying him, whilst some of them concealed themselves, and, when they found the proper opportunity, joined A'ayshah in Mekkah.

At that time Moghyrah, who was considered to be one of the Arab ascetics, had learnt that A'li the Commander of the Faithful entertained the intention of issuing orders for the removal of certain officials, and therefore advised the Amir, as a well-wisher, to delay this matter for awhile, until he received information whether those officials had paid him allegiance, and until his position as Khalifah had been laid on secure and permanent foundations, because in the contrary case their removal would give occasion for disturbances and rebellions among the Musalmâns. The Amir of the Faithful not having approved of the opinion of Moghyrah, the latter hastened to the residence of the Khalifate, and, obtaining an interview with A'li, said: 'What the great mind of the Amir of the Faithful is bent on executing

is quite right and most proper, because one of the advantages resulting from this step will be that sincere friends will be discerned from hypocrites and loyal men from rebels.' Having uttered these words, Moghyrah departed from his lordship the Amir. On that occasion A'bdullah B. A'bbâs arrived in Madinah, and, hastening to the threshold of the Khalifate, saw Moghyrah coming out therefrom. When Ebn A'bbâs met his lordship the Amir, he asked him for what purpose Moghyrah had come. The Amir of the Faithful said: 'Moghyrah has spoken so and so to me yesterday, and what he said to-day was contrary to his utterance of yesterday.' A'bbâs continued: 'What Moghyrah had said yesterday was very good advice, but what he spoke to-day was nothing but treachery.' When these words had been brought to the notice of Moghyrah, he said: 'When a man gets advice and will not receive it, treachery must be used towards him that he may accept it. In this way A'li, who would not receive my advice yesterday, lent a willing ear to my treachery to-day.' It is related that A'li Murtadza asked Ebn A'bbâs: 'Why demurrest thou to the removal of Moa'wiah B. Abu Sofian?' He replied: 'Moa'wiah and his friends are men of the world, and if by drawing the line of removal over those criminal officers thou deprivest them of what they covet, they will allege that thou hast murdered O'thmân, hast forcibly taken possession of the throne of the Sultanate, and art desirous of extirpating his adherents. In this manner the people of E'râq and of Syria will become disloyal to thee, and will rebel; neither do I place much confidence in the homage which Ttolhah and Zobeyr paid to thee. If, however, thou wilt leave Moa'wiah in his post, I shall in course of time pull him out from that country like a hair from a lump of leaven.' A'li the Commander of the Faithful said, 'There is no gift except the sword, for I shall not take those for my support who have strayed.' He said with his eloquent tongue: 'The ill-will I entertained against O'thmân was on account of the tyranny of his officials, but as I have now attained supreme authority, I shall not be lenient towards

them, and shall not assent to their oppressing the Musalmâns.' Ebn A'bbâs said: 'O Amir of the Faithful, although thou mayest confide in the strength of thy arm, there is need for consideration and delay in this important affair:

'By wisdom thou mayest break the back of an army
Whereas with the sword thou wilt kill one, up to ten.'

A'li the Commander of the Faithful said: 'Whenever I consult thee in the decision of affairs, thou art to reveal thy opinion to me, and if I sometimes differ from thee, thou art to obey mine.' Ebn A'bbâs assented, and meanwhile Ttolhah requested the Amir of the Faithful to appoint him Governor of Bossrah and Zobeyr Governor of Kûfah. The lord and receptacle of the Vicariate, however, replied: 'I have no other counsellors and advisers except you, but whom am I to consult and ask for aid if you separate from me?' Both felt aggrieved by this reply, so that discontent and opposition having arisen in their minds, they said: 'We have paid him allegiance for fear of the sword of Mâlek Ashtar, although he is not worthy to be our governor and commander.' Then they waited for an opportunity to depart from Madinah and to excite a rebellion.

A'li the Commander of the Faithful sends Intimate Friends to administer the Provinces, and some reach their Destination.

In the beginning of the year 36 of the Hegira,[53] A'li the Commander of the Faithful appointed O'thmân B. Hanyf to the governorship of Bossrah, ordering A'bdullah B. A'amer to be removed. He sent A'mmârah B. Hisân, who was one of the Mohâjer, to govern Kûfah, and having issued letters patent for the Government of Yemen, in the name of A'bdullah B A'bbâs B. Rabya'h, despatched him to that province. He nominated Qays B. Sa'd B. A'bâdah to Egypt, and requested A'bdullah B. A'bbâs to depart to Syria, and to do his best for the prosperity of the subjects in that country. A'bdullah, however, replied: 'Moa'wiah,

[53] A H. 36 began on June 30, A D. 656.

who is the cousin of O'thmân, and was his agent, has been for years governing the worshippers of God there without hindrance or opposition; I fear that if he can get hold of me he will not rest until he has slain me, but if he refrains from shedding my blood, he will undoubtedly keep me a prisoner. There being close consanguinity between thee and me, there is no doubt that my abasement will involve thine. I think it will be proper on thy part to excuse me from accepting a post which will result disastrously to me.' Having accepted his apology, Murtadza A'li despatched Sohayl B. Hanyf to Damascus. When O'thmân B. Hanyf arrived in the vicinity of Bossrah, A'bdullah B. A'amer, having surrendered the town, departed to Mekkah, whereon O'thmân commenced to regulate the affairs of Bossrah; some people, however, displayed opposition.—When A'mmârah had reached the neighbourhood of Kûfah, he was met by Ttolhah B. Khowylad Asdy and by Qa'qa' B. A'mru, who said to him: 'Return, if thou hast any regard for thy life, because the people of Kûfah want no other man besides Abu Mûsa Asha'ry to be their governor.' Then A'mmârah necessarily returned.—When the news of the approach of A'bdullah B. Abbâs B. Rabya'h reached A'li B. Muniah, who was the Governor of Yemen, he emptied the public treasury of all its cash and merchandise, and, fully preparing himself, hastened to the conflict.—When Qays B. Sa'd arrived in Egypt, some people went to meet him, and entered the town with him; but among the notables there were two factions, one of which submitted to him, but the other said: 'If he will punish the murderers of O'thmân, we shall obey him, but otherwise not.' Qays B. Sa'd thought proper to conciliate this party, merely to avoid its opposition.—When Sohayl B. Hanyf alighted in the locality of Tabûk, some troops of Syria who came to him asked him where he was going to and coming from. Sohayl replied: 'A'li the Commander of the Faithful has sent me to govern Syria.' They replied: 'We accept neither thee as our governor nor him as our Khalifah, and retaliation for [the murder of] O'thman is incumbent on

him.' Sohayl asked: 'Does anyone agree with you in this matter?' They replied: 'All the inhabitants of Syria agree with us, oppose A'li, and will call him to account for having desired to shed the blood of O'thmân.' When Sohayl B. Hanyf found this to be the state of affairs, he returned from that very spot to Madinah, and when he informed A'li of it, he became sorrowful, but communicated it to Ttolhah and to Zobeyr, who observed: 'Although we pressed thee much to bestow the governorship of Bossrah and of Madinah on thy intimate friends, thou wouldst not comply. Now thy enemies expect us to cast off allegiance to thee. If thou desirest the disturbance to be quelled, thou must give us leave to depart to Mekkah to engage in adoration in the sanctuary. When thy foes thus perceive that we have no quarrel with thee, they will very likely grasp the handle [*i.e*, opportunity] to become loyal and obedient; if not, then prepare for hostilities, because in such a case the contest about the Khalifate cannot be quelled except by using the sword and lance:

> 'He will embrace the bride of dominion quickly
> Who plants a kiss on the blade of the bright sabre.'

The Amir of the Faithful replied: 'As long as I am able, I shall deal kindly and gently with my opponents, but if the result is contrary to my expectations, I shall have to ward them off with life-destroying spears and bright scimitars, which do the work of lightning; as I, however, know that you wish to separate from me, I give you leave to go wherever you like.' As Ttolhah and Zobeyr knew that A'ayshah was fomenting opposition in the sanctuary against A'li—p b. o. h.—they determined to go to the Hejâz, and departed.

Opposition of A'ayshah; Union of Ttolhah and of Zobeyr with her, and their Departure from Mekkah to Bossrah.

It has been narrated above that when O'thmân was being besieged, A'ayshah, desiring to go on pilgrimage to the Ka bah, had departed to Mekkah. After she had com-

pleted the circumambulation of the house of Allah, she turned the reins of her intention again towards Madinah, and meeting on the road a man arriving from that direction, she asked him about the affairs of O'thmân. The man having informed her of the murder of O'thmân, she asked who had succeeded him on the *masnad* of the Khalifate, and being told that it was A'li Murtadza, she exclaimed: '" *We belong to Allah, and unto Him we shall surely return.*"[54] I must again go to Mekkah, because after this Madinah cannot be my residence.' She thereon immediately returned, saying openly and publicly: 'I swear by God that O'thmân has been killed by the sword of tyranny, and I shall certainly make his murderers give an account for his blood.' A'tyd B. Solmah, who was one of the brothers of A'ayshah, taking notice of her words and acts, ceased to associate with her, saying to her: 'Now this is wonderful, as thou hast been the first to open the mouth of reproach and abasement towards O'thmân, and hast said: "Kill Na'shal, because he has certainly become an infidel." ' —Na'shal was a man with a long beard who resembled O'thmân, and whenever calumniators found fault with the latter or spoke ill of him, they called him by this name. —When O'bayd [*supra* A'tyd] B. Solmah had reproved A'ayshah by the above words, she replied: 'After the people had desired O'thmân to repent of acts they did not approve of, and had agreed to kill him.' On this subject O'bayd B. Solmah recited some distichs, two of which are here given:

> From Thee is the beginning, from Thee the end,
> From Thee are the winds, and from Thee the rain,
> Thou hast commanded the Emâm to be slain:
> His slayer is with us, and he governs.

On this occasion the Bani Ommyah, having arrived in Mekkah, made common cause with A'ayshah, the mother of the faithful, in her enmity to the Emâm of the Musalmâns; in the same manner A'bdullah B. A'amer came with abundant hopes from Bossrah, and A'li B. Ommyah from

[54] Qurân, ch. ii. 151.

Yemen with much property, to Mekkah, enrolling themselves as adherents of A'ayshah. Ttolhah and Zobeyr having arrived from Madinah, met A'ayshah, and openly proclaimed the formula of rebellion against the Emam of the period, namely, Murtadza A'li. They held a consultation, after which A'bdullah B. A'amer said: 'It will be proper for us to go to Bossrah, because I have many well-wishers in that province.' Ttolhah, for whom the inhabitants of that country entertained much affection and love, approved of the suggestion of Ebn A'amer, and when they had all arrived at the conclusion to depart, the following words were proclaimed in the public places of Mekkah: 'The mother of the faithful, Ttolhah, and Zobeyr are departing to Bossrah, and let everyone accompany them who desires to avenge the murder of O'thmân and to exalt the Musalmâns' Thereon a thousand of the people of Mekkah and Madinah, with two thousand from other localities, assembled, who were provided with necessaries by A'li B. Ommyah and A'bdullah B. A'amer, whereon they departed to their destination. After they had travelled from stage to stage for some time they reached the water of Hiwâb, the dogs of which locality all crowded against and barked at the camel of A'ayshah, which had been purchased by A'li B. Ommyah for two hundred dirhems, and given as a present to her. A'ayshah asked for the name of the water, and a guide having replied that it was the water of Hiwâb, A'ayshah exclaimed: '" *We belong to Allah, and to Him we shall surely return.*"[55] Let me go back. For I have heard the apostle of God—bl. etc.—say to his wives at a time when we were all sitting together: "Who of you will be the possessor of a fleet camel, at which the dogs of Hiwâb will be barking, while she takes part in a rebellion and insurrection?"' Hereon Ttolhah, Zobeyr, and A'bdullah said: 'This is not the water of Hiwâb; the guide has told a lie.' After that they ordered fifty men to bear witness to the truth of their statement.

In some biographical works it is recorded that one day

[55] Qurân, ch. ii. 151.

A'ayshah had honoured the house of Omm Solmah with her presence in Mekkah, and had said in a conversation: 'The blood of O'thmân has been shed with the sabre of unrighteousness, and a great disturbance has arisen, which I fear may violently shake the foundations of the religion. Now, Ttolhah and Zobeyr intend to pacify the nation, and to depart for that purpose to the Arabian E'râq. They are inviting me to go with them, but if thou wilt accompany me it is possible that by thy noble presence this insurrection may be quelled, and hostilities changed into peace.' Omm Solmah manifesting great distress and embarrassment, replied: 'O A'ayshah, how could we display enmity towards A'li, whose resemblance to the apostle of Allah in person and in character is well known to thee? Yesterday thou hast accused O'thmân of infidelity, and to-day thou callest him Amir of the Faithful! By Allah! the people desire to beguile thee with fraud and evil suggestions in order to cause thee to swerve from the straight path. I adjure thee by God the Most High and Glorious, whether thou hast not heard the apostle of God say that "not many days and nights will elapse when the dogs of a water in E'râq, named Hiwâb, will bark at one of my wives, and that wife of mine will be among the partisans of rebellion." Hearing these words, I unwittingly let a bowl which I was holding in my hand fall to the ground. The apostle of Allah glanced at me, asking, "What is the matter with thee, O Omm Solmah?" I replied: "O apostle of Allah, considering thy words, is there any occasion for asking this question?" Then his lordship smiled, looked at thee, and said: "I think thou art that wife, O little red one."'[56] A'ayshah having assented to this declaration of Omm Solmah, thereon said: 'I renounce this intention, because there is no blessing greater than safety.' A'bdullah B. Zobeyr, who was the son of the sister of A'ayshah, having obtained cognizance of this resolution, said: 'If thou wilt not accompany us in this journey I shall destroy

[56] 'Little red one,' was an endearing term by which the prophet often addressed his favourite wife A'ayshah.

myself by walking into the desert bareheaded and bare footed.' As Ebn Zobeyr insisted so much, A'ayshah complied with his wish; malevolent and cunning persons nevertheless shortly afterwards said to A'ayshah: 'A'bdullah B. Zobeyr has departed to Bossrah without provisions and without a riding animal; if thou wilt not rescue him he is likely to perish on the road.' As A'ayshah loved him exceedingly she was under the necessity of making common cause with the enemies of the Emâm of the period, and starting for Bossrah. When she reached Hiwâb and heard the barking of the dogs of that locality, she desired to return, and said: 'O Ttolhah, I adjure thee by God to send me back to the sanctuary.' Ttolhah having asked for the reason, she informed him of what his holy and prophetic lordship had said, as has been already narrated above. Then A'bdullah B. Zobeyr bribed and gladdened a number of Arabs of the desert to testify [on oath] to A'ayshah that the said locality was another place, and not Hiwâb. It is reported that this was the first false oath which was sworn in Islâm. A'ayshah's mind, however, could not be changed by their assertion; therefore, A'bdullah B. Zobeyr, who superintended the watering of the troops, threw himself running among them, and shouted: 'Lo' A'li B. Abu Ttâleb has arrived!' Thereon A'ayshah, dreading a misfortune, gave up her intention of returning. —When A'ayshah called for the guide to ask him again about the true state of the case, Ttolhah informed her that the guide, disgusted at having missed the road, had returned. It is on record that the guide of the troops had at the instigation of Ttolhah and Zobeyr departed to return to Madinah. On the road the guide happened to meet A'li the Commander of the Faithful, who asked him where he was coming from, and what news he had about the troops of A'ayshah. He said: 'They have departed to Kûfah.' The guide also informed A'li about the barking of the dogs, the desire of A'ayshah to return, and of the false oath of the Arabs of the desert. A'li Murtadza was displeased on hearing this news, because he apprehended that

his antagonists might go to Kûfah and hinder its inhabitants from aiding him.

Some Events which took place after the Arrival of A'ayshah in Bossrah.

When A'ayshah arrived with Ttolhah and Zobeyr near Bossrah, O'thmân B Hanyf, who was on behalf of the Amir of the Faithful the governor of that province, sent to them O'mrân Alhassyin and Abu-l-aswad as envoys to ascertain the reason of their coming. These two envoys, who were excellent U'lamâ and lawyers, first waited on A'ayshah, who replied to their question as follows: 'A crowd of rebellious and turbulent men, having gone to the place of the apostle's exile [*i.e.*, to Madinah], wantonly shed the blood of the Emâm of the Musalmâns [*i.e.*, of O'thmân], raised the dust of wickedness and corruption. Having been disquieted by this unjust act, I am coming to this province for the purpose of asking the inhabitants to aid and assist me, so that supported by them I may go to Madinah with an army to retaliate upon the murderers of the Khalifah of the apostle of God.' Then O'mrân and Abu-l-aswad went to Ttolhah and Zobeyr, whom they asked the same question, and received the identical reply they had heard from A'ayshah. The envoys thereon asked: 'How can you oppose A'li, to whom you have paid homage?' Ttolhah and Zobeyr replied: 'We have paid allegiance to A'li from fear of the scimitar of Mâlek Ashtar, and on condition of his punishing the murderers of O'thmân; as, however, he has failed to keep his promise, the homage we paid him became nullified.' The envoys returned to Bossrah and informed O'thmân B. Hanyf of what they had been told, whereon he issued orders to make preparations for hostilities, but desiring to ascertain whether any of the inhabitants of Bossrah would side with Ttolhah and Zobeyr, he sent Qays B. Moghyrah to the cathedral mosque, where the inhabitants had assembled, and to harangue them as follows: 'O ye people, if those persons

[*i.e.*, A'ayshah, Ttolhah and Zobeyr] allege that fear had induced them to come here, it is contrary to reason, because wild animals and birds being secure from injury in that locality [*i.e.*, Mekkah], it is not likely that the spouse of the apostle—u. w. bl.—had any reason to fear. If they say that they have come to avenge the blood of O'thmân, you know very well that none of his murderers are among us. Accordingly, it will be proper for you to repel them, that they may return to their country.' Among others, Aswad B. Sarj Alsa'dy said: 'They wish us and others beside us to aid them, and desire it to be licit to shed the blood of everyone who considers it to have been licit to shed that of O'thmân.' After listening to these discussions, the people expelled Qays B. Moghyrah from the mosque by throwing stones at him. When O'thmân B. Hanyf knew what had taken place, and ascertained that the well-wishers of Ttolhah and of Zobeyr were numerous, he lost much of his self-confidence. The next day A'ayshah mounted her camel, entered the city, and halted in an open square with Ttolhah on her right and Zobeyr on her left hand, the troops being drawn up around her in lines. O'thmân B. Hanyf likewise paraded his army opposite to A'ayshah, and all the inhabitants of Bossrah were present on that encamping ground. In that assemblage Ttolhah and Zobeyr delivered speeches extolling the virtues of O'thmân, narrating his murder, and asking for the aid of the people to avenge it. Some of the townspeople said: 'Ttolhah and Zobeyr are speaking the truth, and it is incumbent upon all Musalmâns to avenge the blood of O'thmân.' Others, however, said: 'These two men have paid allegiance to A'li and have broken it, and now they have come under the pretext of avenging the murder of O'thmân, in order that they may usurp the supreme power.' On this occasion Jâretah, who was a partisan of A'li and a chief of the Bani Tamym, exclaimed in a loud voice: 'O mother of the faithful [*i.e.*, A'ayshah], I swear by God that the apostle—u. w. p.—is less aggrieved by the murder of O'thmân than by the part thou hast chosen to

play, abandoning thy privacy, mounting this camel, and thus standing between two armies. If thou hast left thy house of thy own accord, I adjure thee by God to return to thy domicile; but if thou hast been brought here against thy will, ask help from the people that they may convey thee back to thy country.' He also said: 'O Ttolhah and Zobeyr, you have been the disciples of the prophet, but you have disregarded the prerogative of his lordship by keeping your own wives within the curtains [of privacy], and by bringing out the spouse of the apostle—u. w. bl.—from the apartment of modesty; and now you are pleased to see her thus mounted, standing in this crowd.' None of the bystanders, however, who heard these words, replied to them.

Meanwhile Hakym B. Hylah, who was one of the chief officers of the army of O'thmân B. Hanyf and the general of the cavalry, gave the signal for hostilities; but most of the inhabitants of Bossrah sided with Ttolhah and Zobeyr, and commenced the fight. That day the battle raged till nightfall, so that many were wounded and killed on both sides. When the sovereign of luminaries [*i.e.*, the sun] had deflected to the region of the west, the two contending parties retired to their habitations, but renewed the fight the next morning, and, the conflict having lasted till midday, A'ayshah ordered it to be heralded that the mother of the faithful desired both parties to cease fighting, because she had come to this locality to establish peace, and not to raise a war. The combatants then abstained from further hostilities, and, after a great deal of discussion, the negotiators of both parties arrived at the conclusion that a man be sent to Madinah to ascertain the circumstances of the homage of Ttolhah and Zobeyr. If it appeared that they had unwillingly paid homage to A'li, O'thmân B. Hanyf was to depart from Bossrah and to surrender it to A'ayshah, but that in the contrary case A'ayshah would have to go to some other place with her followers. After a consultation, Ka'b B. Aswad, who was the Qâdzi and Faqih[57] of Bossrah,

[57] Judge and lawyer.

was selected, and departed. When he arrived in Madinah, he entered the mosque on a Friday, and made inquiries concerning the allegiance of Ttolhah and of Zobeyr; but no one replied except Asâmah B. Zaid, who stated that Ttolhah and Zobeyr had paid homage unwillingly to A'li. He was, however, contradicted by Sohayl B. Hanyf, the Governor of Madinah, who happened to be a partisan of A'li the Commander of the Faithful. Then Ssahyb B. Sanân and Muhammad B. Moslamah, wishing to avoid a disturbance, took Asâmah by the hand, led him out from the mosque, and said that Asâmah had spoken the truth. Ka'b, who had witnessed these proceedings, departed to Bossrah, and when he arrived informed A'ayshah of the state of the case. She then sent an envoy to O'thmân with the request to surrender the town to her, according to the promise. He, however, replied: 'A letter has just arrived from A'li the Commander of the Faithful, the contents of which are: "Do thy utmost to guard the city, and do not allow the opponents to prevail."' A'ayshah wondered at this information; but Ttolhah and Zobeyr, having prepared themselves for hostilities, entered the mosque during the night, and slew forty of the adherents of O'thmân; then they proceeded to the government-house, where they caused four hundred of the guards and watchmen of O'thmân to attain martyrdom. They took out O'thmân from the castle imprisoned him, and wanted to make him join his companions; but A'ayshah interposed, saying: 'He is an old man who was honoured by associating with the apostle; restrain your hands from shedding his blood.' They complied with the behest of A'ayshah, and liberated O'thmân, but pulled out every hair of his beard, which was very long and broad, dealing in the same way with his moustache and eyebrows. After O'thmân had thus escaped the grasp of death, he hastened to wait on A'li the Commander of the Faithful; but his lordship, not recognising him, asked: 'Who art thou? What is thy name?' He replied that he was O'thmân B. Hanyf, whereon A'li said: 'O'thmân, thou

hast gone away aged, but hast returned as a beardless youth.'

After Ttolhah and Zobeyr had obtained possession of Bossrah, they sent letters to Syria to inform Moa'wiah of the state of affairs, and to ask him for aid in waging war against A'li the Commander of the Faithful. A'ayshah on her part likewise despatched letters to the inhabitants of Kûfah to the following purport: 'If A'li asks for your assistance and help, you are to withdraw your feet under the skirts of safety, and to restrain your hands from the breast of compliance with his wish; but if you conveniently can, you are to join the victory-boding standards [of my army].'—It is on record that when O'thmân B. Hanyf was made prisoner, influential men contended with each other concerning the appointment of Emâm,[58] and to prevent a disturbance A'ayshah ordered the Musalmâns to hold the prescribed orisons in the rear of A'bdullah B. Zobeyr until the period of the appointment of a Khalifah.—At that time Ttolhah and Zobeyr openly proclaimed that [the Khalifah] O'thmân had been slain with the approbation of A'li, whereon A'bdullah B. Hakym Tamymy, who was one of the notables of Bossrah, produced a letter written by Ttolhah to the nobles of the locality, inciting them to assent to the murder of O'thmân, and said: 'There is a discrepancy between thy deeds and professions, which, although not known to others, thou must be aware of thyself, because after O'thmân had been killed, A'li said to thee and to Zobeyr, "I shall pay homage to, aid, and follow the one of you two who is inclined to become Khalifah, because I would rather be Wazir than Amir." Both of you, however, unanimously replied, "No one but thyself is worthy of this dignity." Then you gladly and willingly paid him the allegiance which you are now again unanimous in breaking, whereas you had actually incited the people to slay O'thmân.' They replied: 'For whatever wrong we have done in the days of O'thmân there is now no other remedy for us except repentance and

[58] Emâm [the Antistes 'who stands before'] is here to be taken in the sense of leader of prayers.

regret; but in order to atone for what has passed, we now deem it proper to avenge his blood.' It is on record that as soon as Ttolhah and Zobeyr had attained undisputed supreme power, they distributed to the army whatever they found in the public treasury. They likewise slew many persons on the pretext that they had, in the days of the rebellion, been in Madinah, and were accomplices in the murder of O'thmân. Nearly thirty thousand able men, girding their loins of enmity against A'li the Commander of the Faithful, joined them; whilst, on the other hand, many of the A'bdu-l-qays and of the Bani Bakr B. Wâyl fled from Bossrah, and hastened to wait upon the possessor of the Dhu-l-fiqâr [name of the celebrated sword given to A'li by the prophet].

Departure of A'li the Commander of the Faithful to Bossrah; his Stay at Dhy Qâr, and his asking for Troops from Kûfah, while Abu Musa Asha'ry prohibits them from aiding the Lion of Attack.

When, after the departure of Ttolhah and Zobeyr to Mekkah, it had become evident to the enlightened mind of his lordship the Amir [*i.e.*, A'li] that Moa'wiah, who had in Syria drawn the sabre of opposition and had elevated the banner of rebellion, was accusing him of having been an accomplice in the murder of O'thmân, and doing his utmost to collect a numerous army for the purpose of subjugating the inhabitants of Syria, A'li therefore ordered the troops who had in Madinah become adorned with the garland of allegiance to him, to make preparations for marching to Syria. On this occasion the ray of the information struck his illuminated mind that A'ayshah, and Ttolhah, and Zobeyr, and A'bdullah B. A'amer, and A'li B. Ommyah and A'bdu-r-rahman B. Ghayath B. Asyd, and A'bdullah Alhadzramy, the Governor of Mekkah, had with a number of rebels marched towards Bossrah, and this news made him apprehensive that they might change their direction and proceed to Kûfah, in order to cause the population of

that locality to deflect from the straight path. When the Amir of the Faithful had become aware of the antagonism of Ttolhah and of Zobeyr, and had considered it his foremost task to repel them, he asked the people of Madinah to aid and to second him therein. Many of them professed compliance, but others differed, spread the rumour, and openly proclaimed that they had advised A'li to punish the murderers of O'thmân, so that no one might find fault with him, but that, in order to conciliate foes, he would not listen to them; so that they said:

'He deserves to be abandoned to his foes
Who is unwilling to listen to his well-meaning friends.'

Having thus been disappointed by the people of that locality, he assembled in all haste nine hundred men of the place of exile [*i.e.*, of Madinah], and marched away with the intention of hindering his antagonists reaching their destination. He appointed Abu Layly B. A'mru B. Aljurrâh to the command of the vanguard, A'bdullah B. A'bbâs to the right wing, whilst A'mru B. Solmah took charge of the left. Abu Qotâdah, the Anssâri, however, with Abu-l-hashym Altayhân Badri, and Khozaymah B. Thâbet Dhu-l-Shahâdatyn—who was thus surnamed because his lordship the refuge of prophecy had considered his testimony equivalent to two[59]—were enrolled as personal attendants upon the lord and receptacle of the Vicariate.

When A'li the Commander of the Faithful had been apprised that Ttolhah and Zobeyr had advanced so far as to make it impossible to overtake them, he encamped at Dhy Qâr and remained one day at that stage. He sent a courier to Madinah to bring all his baggage to the camp, and vowed to himself that he would not return to the land of Yathreb [*i.e.*, Madinah], because the people of it had grieved his noble mind, as has already been mentioned. On this occasion Hasan the Amir of the Faithful, being in great distress, remarked to his lordship the Amir [*i.e.*, to

[59] 'Shahâdatyn' is the dual of 'Shahâdat,' 'testimony.'

his father Ali], that he had often been advised by well-wishers, but would not listen to them until he had reached the extremity of being in danger of perishing in this desert from hunger and thirst, without anyone coming to the rescue. The lion of attack [*i.e.*, A'li] having soothed the pupil of his eye [*i.e.*, Hasan], asked what the advice [he alluded to] had been. Hasan replied: 'When O'thmân was being besieged I advised thee to depart from Madinah, because in the event of his being killed thou wouldst be considered as an absent friend, and malevolent persons could not accuse thee of complicity in that wicked act. I also told thee not to assume the Khalifate unless all the Musalmâns desired thee to govern them. Lastly, when we heard that A'ayshah, Ttolhah, and Zobeyr had made a covenant to avenge the blood of O'thmân, I told thee to sit down in the corner of safety, and to wait for what would come forth from the veil of concealment.' A'li the Commander of the Faithful replied: 'At the time O'thmân was being besieged and not allowed to come out from his castle, the way of exit from Madinah was barred also to me.'—These words confirm the tradition of Sayf, who had stated in some of his compositions that, at the time O'thmân was being beleaguered, the leaders of the rebels and insurgents appointed a man to guard each of the great companions [of the prophet], and in this manner they had given A'li the Commander of the Faithful in charge of Khâled B. Muslim, while Soudân B. Hamrân took care of Ttolhah and another of Zobeyr, wherefore they were not able to give any personal assistance to O'thmân; this is contrary to the traditions of all the historians who allege that Ttolhah and Zobeyr had instigated the rebels to kill O'thmân. Having answered the remarks of the Emâm Hasan, his lordship A'li the Amir of the Faithful continued: 'The whole population has nothing to do with the paying of homage, which depends upon the choice of the denizens of the two sanctuaries [*i.e.*, Mekkah and Madinah], namely the Mohâjer and the Anssâr, so that when they agree to appoint a man to be Emâm and ruler, it becomes

incumbent on all to obey that man. Had I remained sitting in my house after homage was paid to me, and taken notice of the opposition of Ttolhah and Zobeyr, I would have become the cause of dissensions, and would have committed the greatest treachery against the nation. They, moreover, intended to kill me and want to do so now; they desired to avenge the blood of O'thmân upon me, and want to do so now.'

It is recorded in some works that after the above desultory conversation A'li the Commander of the Faithful addressed the Emâm Hasan as follows: 'My son, when his lordship the apostle—u. w. bl.—departed to the gardens of paradise, I considered no one more deserving than myself to assume the dignity of the Khalifate and the administration of the affairs of the nation; when, however, the people did homage to Abu Bakr, I likewise agreed with them, never flinching in the least to support and to strengthen him. When Abu Bakr had assented that O'mâr should succeed him, I likewise agreed and abstained from opposition. After O'mâr had instituted a consultation, and the people had paid allegiance to O'thmân, I again agreed with them, and at any rate considered it my duty to submit to him, but after he had been slain I retired to my house. People then came to me in crowds, asking me to become adorned with the garland of the Khalifate, and to assume the government, but I resisted their demand although they pressed me eagerly. After one week had elapsed in this manner, and no one had assumed the reins of the government, I feared that disorder would befall the affairs of the Musalmâns, and that a rebellion might originate in Islâm, to quell which would be beyond the power of any human being, and I necessarily complied with the request of the nation, whereon the chiefs and nobles of the Mohâjer and Anssâr willingly paid allegiance to me; but who is perfidious [in keeping a covenant] is perfidious to himself.'

It being evident to the discerning mind of his lordship the Murtadza that he could not wage war against the

people of Bossrah with the forces at his disposal, he despatched, according to a certain tradition, Muhammad B. Ja'fer Ttayyâr to Kûfah with a letter to the inhabitants, of the following purport: 'After the murder of O'thmân, the Mohâjer and the Anssâr paid allegiance to me with much goodwill and pleasure; some of them, however, have broken their covenant and are opposed to me. I desire you to hasten to me and not to suffer your Emâm to be opposed, as long as you are able to wage war.' When Muhammad had reached his destination, he delivered this letter to the inhabitants of Kûfah, who thereon consulted Abu Mûsa A'sha'ri, but he became angry, mounted the pulpit, praised God the Most High, and said: 'A'li—p. b. o. h.—and Ttolhah and Zobeyr are desirous to wield the government and administration. Whoever of you covets this world, let him join one of these two [last-named] men, and whoever is anxious for the eternal world, let him remain in his house and withdraw his feet, [keeping them] under the skirt of safety, and let him deem a corner of his house a blessing; because this is a disturbance whereof the apostle of God has informed the nation when he said that when it arrives the people ought not to leave their houses, make wooden swords, and abstain from fighting.' Muhammad B. Ja'fer, being displeased with these words, spoke rudely to Abu Mûsa, who replied: 'Allegiance to O'thmân is on our necks and upon that of your companion, namely, A'li. If we needs must wage war, let us wage it against the murderers of O'thmân, and take vengeance on them.' When the envoys had ascertained that the people of Kûfah would not act contrary to the wishes of Abu Mûsa, they returned to Dhy Qâr, and informed A'li Murtadza of the state of affairs. When A'li Murtadza had been made aware of the great enmity Abu Mûsa bore towards him, he sent Hasan the Commander of the Faithful with A'mmâr Yâser to Kûfah, to prohibit him from doing what seemed improper to discerning eyes, and to induce the inhabitants of that locality to join the camp of the lion of attack, who wrote also a letter on the subject, con-

taining promises and threats, to Abu Mûsa, and sent it to him by the pupil of his eye [*i.e.*, his darling son Hasan]. Then those two companions and possessors of Divine grace left the august camp by order of the model of those who have attained certainty [in the religion], and reached the vicinity of Kûfah, where the nobles and the middle classes of the country met them, attained the honour of kissing the hand of the eye-light of the apostolate and of the Vicariate,[60] and, following the august retinue, entered Kûfah. Hasan the Amir of the Faithful, with A'mmâr Yâser, entered the mosque, which was crowded with people, Abu Mûsa being likewise present; and when the eyes of the Emâm Hasan—u. w. bl.—alighted upon him, he reproved him as follows. 'Why hast thou prohibited the people of Kûfah from following and aiding the Amir of the Faithful, and led them astray from the right path? I swear by God that our intention is only pacific.' Abu Mûsa replied: 'May my father and mother be a sacrifice for thee! How can I do what thou wishest? Have I not heard thy grandfather the apostle say that a rebellion will soon take place in which one who is sitting will be better off than one who is standing, and one who is standing better than one who is walking, and one walking will be better off than one who is riding? These people of Bossrah are our brothers, to shed whose blood and to rob them of their property God the Most High and Glorious has prohibited us.' A'mmâr Yâser, who heard these words, then spoke rudely to Abu Mûsa, and a man of the people in his turn insulted A'mmâr Yâser, and said: 'Yesterday thou wast a companion of the rebellious and turbulent, and to-day thou bandiest words with our governor.' On this occasion Zaid B. Ssuhân was reading out a letter to the people which A'ayshah had sent them, and, opening the mouth of reproof, commented thereon as follows: 'Men are commanded to fight and to strive for the extirpation and annihilation of the professors of rebellion and error, but women are prohibited from leading armies and attack-

[60] Hasan was a favourite of the prophet and of A'li.

ing foes, being enjoined to remain in their houses and to turn their spindles, according to the words of the Most High: "*Sit still in your houses*."[61] Now, however, A'ayshah is inciting us to connive with her in the transgression of the command she had been enjoined to obey, and is herself engaged in an undertaking which concerns us.'

It is on record that on the said day, Abû Mûsa being embarrassed and dismayed, ascended the pulpit, admonished the people not to obey the behest of A'li the Commander of the Faithful, and said: 'Some of the companions of his lordship the apostle, such as A'bdullah B. O'mar, and Sa'd B. Abu Woqqâss, and Muhammad B. Solmah, and Asâmah B. Zaid, and others, have decided not to come out from their houses during this rebellion, and not to use their swords in killing adherents of Islâm. You must therefore imitate their example, and not jeopardize eternal for the sake of your mundane welfare. Obey me, that you may be safe in this and in the next world.' Then Qa'qa' B. A'mru said: 'A supreme ruler is indispensable, by whose laudable efforts the affairs of the nation may be administered in such a manner as to cause them to prosper, and in this emergency A'li the Commander of the Faithful is the blessed man who justly invites you to aid him in the regulation of affairs and pacification of the commonwealth. It is your duty to make haste to serve him, and not to disobey his commands.' A'bd Khabyr then asked: 'O Abu Mûsa, have Ttolhah and Zobeyr paid allegiance to A'li or not?' Having received an affirmative answer, he queried further: 'Has A'li up to this time done anything which might be a cause for breaking this allegiance?' Abu Mûsa replied: 'I do not know.' A'bd Khabyr continued: 'I shall keep myself aloof from thee until thou knowest it.' After that Hasan the Amir of the Faithful said: 'O Abu Mûsa, as thou hast excused thyself from allegiance to A'li the Amir of the Faithful, what hast thou at present to do with the pulpit? As the couch of the Khalifate and the pulpit of Emâmship belong to him, there is no room for thee in that high place. Come down!' Abu

[61] Qurân, ch. xxxiii, part of ver. 33.

Mûsa, being abashed and disgusted, came down, whereon Ssa'ssa'h B. Ssuhân *and A'mmâr B. Yâser followed each* other, expatiating on the virtues of A'li the Commander of the Faithful, and inviting the people to covet the felicity of kissing the hand of his lordship. Thereon the Emâm Hasan ascended the pulpit, and said: 'O ye people, it is evident to you that A'li B. Abu Ttâleb is the model of the religion and the Emâm of the nation. He has now marched out with an army against people whose minds have been overpowered by an inclination for rebellion and strife, and in whose breasts the flames of envy and hatred are blazing. He [*i.e.*, A'li] now says to you: "In this matter I am either the oppressed or the oppressor, if the first be the case, then aid me according to your best ability, but if the second, then avenge the oppressed upon me." He also says: "Those who were the first to pay me allegiance, but afterwards broke it without a cause, are Ttolhah and Zobeyr. Let now the simple and the gentle of you, with the rich and the poor, hasten to the nest of the Vicariate[62] to enhance your merits."' Mujarr having addressed the people in a similar strain, they exclaimed: 'O pupil of the eye[63] of the apostle—u. w. bl.—we respond to the call of A'li the Commander of the Faithful, to thy invitation and advice. We have listened approvingly, have placed the ring of obedience into our ears [like slaves], and have covered our backs with the mantle of submission'

It is related in some traditions that when the Emâm Hasan departed with A'mmâr Yâser to Kûfah, Mâlek Ashtar represented to the Shah of Vicarship that so long as the authority of Abu Mûsa remained untouched, the object of their mission would not be attained. Accordingly the Commander of the Faithful gave him leave to follow them to Kûfah, and to do his utmost to degrade Abu Mûsa. Mâlek, obeying the behest of the governor of the Vicariate [*i.e.*, A'li], travelled from stage to stage till he reached his destination, and hearing that Hasan the Amir of the Faithful, with A'mmâr Yâser, a number of the

[62] *I.e.*, to the camp of A'li

[63] *I.e.*, darling.

partisans of A'li the Commander of the Faithful, along with the people of Kûfah, were holding an assembly in the cathedral mosque of Kûfah, and that in the said meeting various discussions and debates were taking place, in some of which Abu Mûsa was being insulted, he therefore hastened, full of dust as he was, from the road to the government-house, which was the domicile of Abu Mûsa, and breaking the heads of the slaves with heavy clubs, so that blood flowed, expelled them all from the government-house. They then ran with their gory heads and faces to the mosque, shouting that a man of such and such an aspect had made his appearance like a sudden calamity, and had dealt thus with them, and informing Abu Mûsa that, if he failed to take the necessary measures, he would not find a trace of his goods and chattels remaining. When Abu Mûsa had heard this declaration, the smoke of amazement rose in his head, so that he immediately departed from the mosque.—When the people of Kûfah were apprised of the arrival of Mâlek Ashtar, they hastened with great pleasure to wait on him, but when Abu Mûsa had returned home and perceived his presence, and rudely addressing him said: 'What art thou doing in this place?' Mâlek replied: 'It is an edifice of the Sultân, and belongs to A'li the Commander of the Faithful; if thou hast not paid homage to him, thou must immediately remove to another place.' Abu Mûsa replied: 'Give me one day's respite, that I may get another house and depart to it.' Mâlek, however, continued: 'By Allah! I shall not grant thee a moment's delay.' Then he ordered his furniture and property to be thrown out, so that some of it was destroyed. By the intervention of friends, however, he at last allowed one day to Abu Mûsa to find another house, whereon he departed, and, closing his door, permitted no one to have access to him.—The people of Kûfah then made preparations, and three days afterwards seven thousand of them marched, according to one tradition, towards Dhy Qâr, with Hasan the Amir of the Faithful and after three days more had elapsed, Mâlek Ashtar departed with

twelve thousand brave warriors to the camp of the Amir of the Faithful.

The Battle of Jamal [*i.e.*, of the Camel], and the Victory of the Amir of the Faithful, the Lion of Attack—p. o. h.—by the Command of God the Most High and Glorious.

When A'li the Commander of the Faithful had become aware of the approach of the Kûfah people, he was so pleased that he joyfully hastened to meet them, and having praised them in eloquent terms, harangued them as follows: 'I have invited you to come that we may by your aid bring back to the path of rectitude and tranquillity some of our brothers who are travelling on the road of insurrection and opposition. If they soon respond to our wishes, we shall deal with them amicably, but if they persist in their antagonism we shall treat them according to the injunction of the book of Allah and the *Sonna* of the apostle of Allah—u. w. bl.—and we shall do our utmost, and use every means to establish peace.' After saying these pleasant words, he returned to his victory-boding camp, in which he assigned suitable grounds to the chiefs and notables of Kûfah. The next day he despatched Qa'qa' B. A'mru, who was adorned with the decoration of sagacity and distinguished by valour, as an envoy to A'ayshah, Ttolhah and Zobeyr, for the purpose of quenching the blaze of their fire with the limpid water of advice and admonition. Qa'qa' departed thereon, according to the orders he had received, and the Amir of the Faithful marched, with his troops, after him in the direction of Bossrah. When Qa'qa' B. Amru had reached Bossrah, after traversing the distance, he first obtained the honour of an interview with the mother of the faithful [*i.e.*, A'ayshah], whom he asked what her object was in coming to this country? She replied: 'To seek the welfare of the Musalmâns, and to avenge the blood of O'thmân.' Qa'qa' continued: 'My wish is that Ttolhah and Zobeyr be

present in the house of the mother of the faithful, that I may say in their presence what I have to say.' Ssiddiqah[64] ordered them to come, and Qa'qa' having asked them the same question, and received the identical answer which Ssiddiqah had given, continued: 'Your allegations are incongruous, because to avenge the blood of O'thmân means turmoil, and not the welfare of the Musalmâns.' They asked for the reason, but Qa'qa' again queried: 'How many persons have been killed, from the moment this rebellion was raised up to the present time, to avenge the blood of O'thmân?' They replied: 'Six hundred men.' Qa'qa' continued: 'Some thousands have become your enemies in this province, and if you augment your efforts in this matter, they will become more numerous, which will be a cause for hostilities and not for pacification.' A'ayshah said: 'Well spoken, Qa'qa'! Tell us now what will be best to do.' He said: 'According to my opinion, the carpet of antagonism ought to be folded up, and a treaty ought to be written by a pen of cloud-like abundance, the benignant showers whereof will lay the dust [of enmity] which has been raised. If my advice meets with acceptance, a good omen will manifest itself on the pages of your circumstances, but if it be rejected, the contrary of what I have presaged will take place.' They replied: 'The words thou hast uttered are in conformity with truth and sincerity, and if A'li assents to thy proposal we shall offer no opposition to it.' Then Qa'qa' returned on the wings of celerity to the victory hoping camp, and stated the result of his negotiation. His lordship the Amir of the Faithful was pleased with the words of Qa'qa' and praised him. Meanwhile the chiefs of the Bossrah peeple sent envoys to the victory-allied camp of the Amir of the Faithful—u. w. p.—to ascertain from the Kûfah people, who were their relatives, whether they intended to conclude peace or were inclined to wage war. When the people of Bossrah interviewed the chiefs of Kûfah, they received from them the following answer:

[64] A'ayshah was thus called after her father Abu Bakr Ssiddiq.

'We at all times obey the orders of his lordship the Amir of the Faithful, but do not know at present whether he is inclined for peace or war.' The Bossrah people thereon hastened to the august assembly to ascertain the intentions of the Shâh of the refuge of Vicarship, who thereon said: 'Persons, who had arrived from various provinces in great numbers at Madinah, complained against O'thmân; but however much I advised him to extinguish the flame of discontent by removing certain obnoxious officials, my demand met with no response, and the oppressed obtained no justice. At last he was killed for his indolence, as is known to everybody. After that the people desired me to assume the garland [*i.e.*, dignity] of the Khalifate, and to redress every kind of trouble and calamity, but I remained one week in my house, keeping the door of intercourse barred, and this [seclusion] being of no use [to them], they brought me out from my domicile, and I told them that the presence of Ttolhah and of Zobeyr was indispensable. When the people had succeeded in producing them, I said to both: 'Whichever of you two is desirous to become Khalifah, I shall follow him.' My proposal was, however, not accepted, and they paid me allegiance with much pleasure and great alacrity; at last, however, they asked leave of me, under the pretext of visiting the sacred localities, and departed to Mekkah, where they broke the covenant, secluded their own wives within curtains, but conveyed the spouse of the prince of the world—u. w. bl.—to Bossrah, in the midst of unsanctified persons, not being ashamed to disregard the respect due to the lord of the apostolate nor of breaking the allegiance, exciting rebellion and shedding blood. My purpose in coming here is to engage in the abolition of blamable usages and regulation of the affairs of the people. I shall put a stop to malice and wrath, which are repugnant to all good men in the religion of Muhammad the apostle of Allah; and if the opponents persevere in their doings, I shall act gently towards them, and shall not hastily engage in hostilities.' The Bossrah people, having approved of these words, said: 'There are no better

expressions than these.' The Amir of the Faithful continued: 'As you approve of what I have said, pay me allegiance!' A'assum B. Kalb made some excuses to delay the act of homage, which were not accepted; so that at last those hundred men, having attained the felicity of paying homage, returned to Bossrah, where they said to the nobles of that locality: 'We have paid a visit to A'li the Commander of the Faithful, and have heard him utter the words of prophets.'

After the just-mentioned deputation had returned to Bossrah, his lordship the receptacle of the Vicariate marched from the locality in which he was and encamped on a large and convenient plain in the vicinity of Bossrah, whereon A'ayshah with Ttolhah and Zobeyr came out of the town at the head of thirty thousand men and halted in front of the army allied to victory. Now messengers and messages went to and fro, till at last the conclusion was arrived at that the murderers of O'thmân should depart from the victory-boding army so that negotiations for peace might take place; their number, however, amounted to more than five hundred men, most of them belonging to noble Arab families, and among them were Mâlek Ashtar, and Ebn Alhashym, and A'dy B. Hâtim Ttây, and Thâym B. Tha'lebah I'ysa, and Sharyh B. Awfy, and Khâled B. Mulajjam, and others whose enumeration would be tedious. When those enemies of O'thmân had departed from the victory-boding army, and encamped on another spot, they consulted each other, and said: 'There is no doubt that the peace of Ttolhah and Zobeyr with the Commander of the Faithful will be based on our death, and we are bound to attend to our position.' One of them said: 'A'li is better acquainted with the book of God [than we are]; he has now condemned us to death and made common cause with Ttolhah and Zobeyr in their enmity against us. It will be expedient for us to leave our friends and homes, and to depart to the west to save our lives.' A'dy B. Hâtim said: 'Life is pleasant in the company of our families and friends, but if we separate from them the contrary will be the case.'

Another said: 'The best thing we can do is to cause A'li to join O'thmân [in death] when we got an opportunity, and by this means to seek reconciliation with Ttolhah and Zobeyr.' A'lyâ B. Hashym said: 'Yesterday we have killed O'thmân, and if we to-day do the same to A'li, what trust will Ttolhah and Zobeyr place in us? They will no doubt be awhile friendly to us, but will finally do their best to annihilate us. We have now no other remedy but to use a stratagem in consequence of which their friendship [*i.e.*, the friendship of A'li with Ttolhah and Zobeyr] will be changed to enmity, and their pacification to war.' All having consented to this proposal, the cunning of the murderers of O'thmân brought on a terrible fight between the two parties, as shall soon be jotted down by the pen of explanation if it pleaseth Allah the Most High.

At that time Ahnaf B. Qays, who was one of the Arab chiefs, came out from Bossrah with six thousand men, who were his followers, and, entering Wâdy Asbaa', said: 'How can I fight against the cousin of the apostle?' Then he went with his troops to the camp of A'li the Commander of the Faithful, but his intention was to side with the party which would be victorious. Before the commencement of hostilities he betook himself, by way of foresight, alone to the Commander of the Faithful, and said: 'If the Amir of the true believers be so inclined, I shall join his victory-hoping camp with a small detachment, and shall at the time of the battle gird up my loins to the conflict; but if he deems it more convenient, I shall keep off from him eighteen thousand sword-bearing men.' A'li the Commander of the Faithful having accepted the second proposal, he [*i.e.*, Ahnaf] succeeded in detaching a number of the Bani Tamym and Bani Sa'd from the army of Ttolhah and Zobeyr, and marched with them to the Wâdy Asbaa'.

There is a tradition that in those days Ka'b Aswad, who happened to be the Qâdzy of Bossrah, having drawn his feet under the skirt of safety, determined within himself not to aid A'li the Commander of the Faithful, but, nevertheless, to resist Ttolhah and Zobeyr, whereon they sent

the following message to A'ayshah: 'If Ka'b remains behind also, the Bani Azd will excuse themselves from sharing in the contest, so that we shall be defeated on that account. Therefore thou must send for him, and request him to co-operate with us.' A'ayshah then sent a person to him with the following message: 'Thy mother stands in need of thy presence.' Ka'b replied: 'Would that I had never been borne by a mother! I swear by God that A'ayshah is not my mother, and that I stand not in need of a mother who would bring me near to the fire of hell!' He also said to the messenger: 'Tell A'ayshah to return to her home, so that the affairs of the Musalmâns may be peaceably settled.' When the envoy had gone back to A'ayshah and informed her of his obstinacy and intention to remain behind, she went herself to the house of Ka'b, and said: 'I have first sent a messenger, but have now come myself to show thee honour and respect.' Ka'b began to weep, and said: 'Would that thou hadst never come!' She replied: 'I have come to invite thee to unite thyself with us in avenging the blood of the unjustly slain Khalifah.' Ka'b, however, replied: 'O mother of the faithful, hast thou forgotten how many times thou hast incited and encouraged people ere this to kill O'thmân?' A'ayshah rejoined: 'I have repented to God of that baseness, and am at present determined to atone for that great crime.' She spoke so long, so eloquently, and so enticingly that the poor man at last grasped his sword, left the mansion of safety, and departed to the field of danger, leading the camel of A'ayshah by the hand, and saying: 'As long as a spark of life remains in my body I shall not let go this bridle from my hand.' When the Azd tribe beheld their leader acting thus, they made preparations for war, joining the forces of Ttolhah and of Zobeyr. During the few days the two armies were encamped opposite to each other, envoys went to and fro between them, negotiating for peace, which was on the point of nearly being concluded, and the reasons for hostility averted, when the murderers of O'thmân determined one night to make an attack, and at dawn, mounting

horses fleet like the wind, hastened towards the camp of A'ayshah. As soon as they had sufficiently approached the camp, they began shooting arrows, causing confusion among the troops, who imagined that the army allied to victory had by the command of A'li the Commander of the Faithful attacked them. When Ttolhah and Zobeyr perceived this state of affairs, they said: 'We knew that the son of Abu Ttâleb [*i.e.*, A'li] would never restrain his hands from hostilities, and that his mind would never become wearied or averse to shed blood.' Then they made arrangements for a battle, placed the howdah of A'ayshah, which they had strengthened with iron plates, upon the powerful camel which A'li B. Ommyah had presented to her by way of a gift [and mounted A'ayshah thereon]. Then a portion of the troops engaged in warding off the murderers of O'thmân, who, however, after they had killed some men and wounded others, fled, but the troops of A'ayshah pursued the adherents of fraud and treachery, whereon they threw themselves into the victorious camp [of A'li] shouting: 'Lo, Ttolhah and Zobeyr have made a night attack.' Then a tumult arose in the glorious army, and the men said: 'We know that from the son of A'bdullah and from the son of A'wwam nothing can be expected but the breaking of treaties.' A'li the Commander of the Faithful then likewise set his heart on fighting, and arranged his troops in battle-array. The victory-boding army of the lord and recipient of Vicarship consisted of seven standards [or brigades], each of which was commanded by an Amir, all being, however, subject to the orders of A'li the Commander of the Faithful. Sa'd B. Qays was the leader of the Hamyar and Hamdan [tribes], A'dy B. Hâtim Ttây of his own tribe, but his enrolment among the seven Amirs took place before he left the camp The Qays and the A'ys were commanded by Sa'd B. Masu'd B. A'mru Thaqfy, the uncle of Mukhtâr B. Abu O'baydah; the Kindah, the Qodzaa'h, and the Mohrah by Hejr B. A'dy Alkindy; the Azd, the Hylah, the Khosha'm, and the Khozâa'h by Mukhanaf B. Salym Alazdy; the Bani Bakr, the Tha'leb, and the Rabya'h by

Mukhduu' Aldahly; while A'bdullah B. Abbâs commanded all the Qoraish, the Anssâr, and other people from the Hejâz. Mâlek Ashtar was in charge of the right wing of the victorious army, and A'mmâr Yâser of the left.—In the army of A'ayshah the commander-in-chief of the cavalry was Muhammad B. Ttolhah B. A'bdullah B. Anssâr, and the commander-in-chief of the whole infantry was A'bdullah B. Alzobeyr Ala'wwam. The Amir of the right wing was Ka'b B. Aswad, and the commander of the Qoraish and the Kenanah was A'bdu-r-rahman B. Hareth B. Heshâm, whilst Mokhashi' B. Masu'd, and A'mru B. A'bdu-r-rahman B. A'amer, and A'bdullah Khalaf Khozaa'y, and A'bdu-r-rahman B. Jaber Almurasy, and Rabyi' B. Zyad Alhâreth, and A'bdullah B. Malik commanded those who were subject to them.

That morning A'ayshah, Ttolhah, and Zobeyr exercised their army, whilst the murderers of O'thmân stood aside counting the stars until the sovereign of the fourth climate [*i.e*, the sun] had elevated his banners from the ambush of the horizon, hastened towards the hosts of Ethiopia [*i.e.*, the stars of the black night], and when the dolls of the azure sphere [*i.e.*, the stars] had retired from the sight of the beholders within the curtains, they [*i.e.*, the murderers of O'thmân] hastened in crowds to wait on A'li Murtadza. Mâlek Ashtar with A'dy B. Hâtim, being the spokesmen and delegates of their people, said: 'The Amir of the Faithful had excluded us from attendance upon him, in order to soothe the hearts of the adherents of opposition and rebellion; and although we knew for a certainty that their intention was not to perpetuate thy Khalifate, we thought it proper to obey thy orders, and to withdraw our tongues into the palate of silence, in order not to be accused of sinister motives. Now, however, we have come to jeopardize our lives in attendance upon thy heaven-aspiring stirrup, until this affair is settled by cogent arguments.' His sacred lordship Murtadza—p. o. h.—was standing between the lines, and said: 'It is not hidden or concealed from anyone that I was dealing kindly and gently with my

opponents, advising them and hoping that they would desist from their acts. They, however, failed to take notice of my kind words, and, withdrawing their hands from the skirts of justice, donned the garment of obstinacy and resistance. Now they are challenging me to fight, and it is amazing that Ttolhah, who had formerly instigated the people to kill O'thmân, is at present bemoaning his death, and desires to avenge his blood. I swear by the magnificence of Allah that Ttolhah is not acting according to the dictates of reason. If, as he believed, O'thmân was a tyrant, it would be his duty to cultivate the friendship of the murderers of O'thmân; but if, on the contrary, he deemed that O'thmân was unjustly persecuted, he ought to have aided him while he was yet alive. Had he been grateful, he ought not to have come out from his house, and ought not to have interfered in anything. He has, however, done neither, but paid allegiance to me, and afterwards rejected it. He first kept the covenant, and then defiled his honour by breaking it. O God, punish Ttolhah as he deserves, and give him no respite whatever.' Then he addressed the companions allied to victory as follows: 'Be glad and joyous to fight these people, and apprehend no evil consequences in doing so; because they have ejected Ebn Hanyf, who governed the province of Bossrah on my behalf, and have afflicted him in various ways. They have taken possession of the public treasury, and have slain a number of pious men, such as Hakym, with his brother and son. Some Musalmâns of Mekkah, who had fled for their lives, were pursued by them, captured, and unmercifully slain by them. Be aware that death cannot be avoided either by remaining stationary or by moving about. Consider that flight entails disgrace, and brings on the punishment of hell. Be certain that the best death is to fall in battle. I swear by that God in the grasp of whose power the life of the son of Abu Ttâleb is, that one hundred strokes with the sword would be more acceptable to me than to die on my bed. Advance undismayed, and do not become obnoxious to eternal punishment by cowardice or reluctance;

because, after all, death is foreordained, and can be eluded neither by fraud nor stratagem, and fate cannot be struggled against. The people who have come to fight you, being adherents of Islâm and Arab tribes, are not to be attacked by you; but if they assail you, resistance must be offered, because you are bound to repel your foes, and if you slay them the guilt of their blood will not be on your necks. You are, moreover, not to pursue fugitives, nor to afflict a man, whom you have already wounded, with another wound.'

How couldst Thou disappoint Thy friends
While having regard for Thy enemies?[85]

It is narrated in some historical books that when his lordship the Amir of the Faithful delivered the above harangue, he requested Ttolhah and Zobeyr to come out to him from their lines. According to one tradition, Zobeyr, and according to another both of them, leapt out with light hearts, and minds free from suspicion of any impending calamity, from their ranks, and took up a position so close to A'li the Commander of the Faithful that the necks of their riding-beasts touched each other. After some preliminary explanations about this meeting, his lordship the refuge of the Vicariate said: 'Ere this fraternal relations existed between us, and we would not have permitted ourselves to vex each other.' They assented, and he continued: 'What has recently taken place to induce you to be hostile to me, to consider the shedding of my blood to be licit, and to elevate the standard of hatred?' They replied: 'It is incumbent upon us, and upon all Musalmâns, to endeavour to deprive thee of authority; because thou hadst assembled malcontents from every direction, and instigated them unjustly to slay the Khalifah.' The Shâh and refuge of the Vicarship said: 'Do you mean to retaliate upon me for the blood of O'thmân, while your sabres are yet dripping therewith? There is a vast difference between your good pleasure and that of the Most High. Come now, let us

[85] This distich is borrowed without acknowledgment. See p. 4 of 'The Gulistân,' or 'Rose-garden' of Sa'di. Printed by the Kama Shastra Society, 1888.

utter imprecations against each other, and lift our hands in prayer to the sky, that whoever had assented to the murder of O'thmân may be made to feel the Divine wrath, and be chastised accordingly.' They refused, however, to utter imprecations, and A'li the Commander of the Faithful continued: 'You keep your own wives within curtains, but you have brought forth the honoured spouse of the apostle of God out of her retirement, and have torn aside the veil of her privacy. Now decide yourselves whether this is just, or the height of impropriety.' They replied: 'A'ayshah has, without being requested by us, honoured the nation by undertaking to arrange its affairs.' His lordship the Amir of the Faithful continued: 'I swear by my life and my head that A'ayshah stands herself more in need of a man to arrange her own affairs than any other people! O ye two old men, retrace your steps, and turn back to God; because to-day your position is disgraceful, but to-morrow it will be in fire.'[66] Ttolhah and Zobeyr being intent on hostilities and averse to pacification, the Amir—u. w. bl.—said: 'O Zobeyr, rememberest thou when we both walked in company with the apostle—u. w. bl.—my hand being on thine, and his lordship asked, "Zobeyr, lovest thou A'li?" and thou hast said, "Yes"? His lordship continued, "Thou wilt soon be in a position to fight him, and on that occasion thou wilt be in the position of an oppressor." '—Let it not remain concealed from discerning minds that these stories have been narrated in various manners by chroniclers; but as some have applied the epithet of oppressor to A'li, there was no necessity of repeating them to refute them.—When Zobeyr had heard these words of the Shâh of the refuge of Vicarship, he said: 'O father of Hasan, thou hast reminded me of something which, if I had thought of it, would have hindered me from entertaining the idea of killing thee. I swear by God that I shall never fight nor quarrel with thee!' After this parley, A'li the Commander of the Faithful returned to his lines, and informed his companions of the oath just made by Zobeyr, who on his part went to

[66] Meaning: To-morrow you will be slain and go to hell.

A'ayshah and said: 'From the time I have attained the age of discretion till the present I appeared in all contests according to the dictates of discernment and justice, except on this battlefield.' On A'ayshah's asking him for the reason of this declaration, he continued: 'A'li B. Abu Ttâleb has informed me of something which, if I had thought of it before, would have hindered me from embarking in this enterprise. I now intend to retire from the camp of the army, and to sit down in the corner of safety.' A'bdullah then said to Zobeyr: 'Thy reluctance to fight originates not from the story thou hast rehearsed, but from the impression made upon thy mind by the valour of the men thou hast seen gathered under the banners of A'li B. Abu Ttâleb; but I, for my part, shall not leave the battlefield, and shall engage in the contest with all my heart, until the Universal Judge decides the matter between us and our foes.' These words so incensed Zobeyr that he rushed thrice into the lines of the glorious army, and returned again without wounding anyone, rejoined his troops, and said to his son A'bdullah: 'What I have now done is not the act of a man who is afraid.' A'bdullah, however, still insisted on the necessity of fighting, whereon Zobeyr said: 'Having sworn an oath never to fight against A'li, how can I lift my arm to shed the blood of his army?' A'bdullah then said: 'Thou canst easily atone for thy oath and clear thy conscience from this scruple by manumitting a slave.' Then A'bdullah continued his entreaties, till Zobeyr at last set free a slave of his, Makhûl by name, and promised to fight. On this subject A'bdu-r-rahman B. Sulaymân has said:

'I have not seen a brother more treacherous than to-day;
I am astonished how he atones for his oath,
By manumission, and rebels against the Merciful.'

When his lordship the Commander of the Faithful knew that the troops of Bossrah and the army of A'ayshah, beguiled by their temerity, were entirely unwilling to make peace and to be reconciled, he said: 'Who will take the holy book, jeopardize his life, approach those people, and

invite them to [obey the behests of] the Divine volume and the celestial books?' Then a soldier, Muslim by name, bidding farewell to his physical life, entered the lines of the enemy with the book in his hand, and uttering a few words according to the instruction of the Shâh of the refuge of Vicarship, invited the people to accept [the injunctions of] the glorious Qurân; but one of those furious men cut off his arm, whereon he took the volume in the other hand, which was likewise cut off by others; then he clasped the book with the two stumps of the arms, and, pressing it to his breast, said: 'I call you to accept that which is written on these leaves.' He was, however, immediately slain. When the corpse of Muslim had been conveyed to the victory-allied army, his lordship prayed over it, and threw a handful of dust towards the enemies, invoking Divine vengeance against them.

Although the troops of A'ayshah made several attacks, his lordship the Amir delayed the encounter according to his wont, only saying:

'O A'ayshah, these people are not foes
Thy privacy would be better than to fight them.'

After the patience of the warriors of the glorious army had been tried beyond measure, they began the conflict with their head-cutting Yemâni swords, and made their heart-piercing lances work. The two armies, having met, did their best to annihilate each other, and blood flowed in abundance. A'ayshah, dismayed by the terrible contest, said to Ka'b B. Aswad: 'Let go the bridle of my camel, and betake thyself to the lines of the army of A'li, and invite them to the book of God the Most High and Glorious.' Ka'b obeyed the order, but when Mâlek Ashtar heard of this errand, he feared that in consequence of it, and by a stratagem of the foe, his lordship the Amir might be induced to cease hostilities, and he slew Ka'b.—In that battle A'mmâr B. Yâser approached Zobeyr, who, although in a position to kill him, restrained himself and turned in another direction, because he had heard the apostle of

Allah—u. w. bl.—say: 'A rebellious faction will murder A'mmâr Yâser.'—Some allege that when Zobeyr perceived A'mmâr Yâser fighting in the ranks of the army of the Commander of the Faithful, he remembered that he had heard the wonderfully eloquent tongue of the elected one of the Beneficent Sovereign utter the words: 'The right is on the side of A'mmâr.'—When the flames of the contest had commenced to blaze, Zobeyr, unwilling to fight against A'li the Commander of the Faithful, left the battlefield and departed to the Hejâz. When he had reached the neighbourhood of Wâdy Asbaa', to which place Ahnaf B. Qays had retired with some hermits for safety, Ahnaf happened to perceive him from a distance, and knew him to be Zobeyr. He then said to the men who were sitting with him: 'This individual is Zobeyr, who has turned his face away from the battle! Will anyone go and bring us news from him?' One of those present, whose name was A'mru B. Jarmûz, said: 'With your leave I shall do so.' Ahnaf assented; A'mru girded his sword, mounted his horse, and rode after Zobeyr, whom he overtook at the time of noon-prayers, and asked: 'O father of A'bdullah, how were the armies of A'ayshah and of his lordship the Amir—bl, etc.—at the time thou hast left them?' Zobeyr replied: 'They were fighting and contending with each other when I came out from that place of destruction.' A'mru then asked him why he had gone away from the contest, and he mentioned the reason already narrated above. They continued riding side by side for awhile, when Zobeyr said to A'mru: 'I desire to perform the prescribed orisons; thou wilt be secure from me, shall I be secure from thee?' A'mru said 'Yes,' but as soon as Zobeyr began his prayers he struck him furiously at the first prostration, so that he killed him. Taking possession of the cuirass, armour and horse of Zobeyr, he betook himself to the victorious army and exhibited these arms to the august inspection of A'li the Commander of the Faithful, who, when his eyes alighted upon the sabre of Zobeyr, said: 'The owner of the cup without a handle has often

unjustly boasted of it in the presence of the apostle of Allah.' After that he turned to A'mru and exclaimed: 'Receive the news of fire, O slayer of the son of Saafyah!' A'mru replied: 'Thou art the calamity of this nation! Whoever sides with thee or against thee must go to hell.' There is also a tradition that he said: 'He has slain your foe, and is threatened with hell-fire.' In some chronicles it is recorded that when A'li the Commander of the Faithful had promised him the fire of Jahannum [Gehenna], A'mru became so dismayed and enraged that he placed the sword against his abdomen, and leant on it with such force that it came out at his back.

It is related that when Ttolhah was apprised of the departure of Zobeyr, he intended to follow his example, to separate from A'ayshah, and to retire to a corner. When Merwân B. Alhukum was informed of this intention, the hatred which he had long entertained towards Ttolhah on account of the murder of O'thmân was augmented, and he pierced the foot of Ttolhah in the stirrup as he was riding. The blood of Ttolhah flowed so abundantly from his wound that he became weak, and not being able to sit alone, he ordered a slave to mount in his rear and to take him in his arms. Being overpowered by weakness, Ttolhah said to the slave: 'Take me to the town, for I shall not survive this wound.' As Ttolhah had now lost all his strength, the slave laid him down in a ruin before he could reach the town. On that occasion the eyes of Ttolhah alighted on a horseman, whom he told to approach him, and asked: 'To what party belongest thou?' The rider replied: 'I am one of the soldiers of A'li B. Abu Ttâleb.' Ttolhah continued: 'Place thy hand into mine, that I may renew my allegiance to A'li the Commander of the Faithful.' The man assented, and Ttolhah having paid homage, the bird of his soul took flight to the throne [of the Divine majesty]; and when the act of Ttolhah had been reported to A'li the Commander of the Faithful, he said: 'God, who be praised and exalted, was not willing to receive Ttolhah into paradise without his paying homage to me.'

There is a tradition that after Ka'b B. Aswad had been slain, a portion of the Bani Ommyah, who kept guard around the howdah of A'ayshah, put themselves in motion and began to fight with their arrows, sabres and lances. When A'li Murtadza—p. b. o. h.—beheld their strenuous exertions, he appointed Mâlek Ashtar, and A'dy B. Hâtim, and A'mmâr B. Yâser, and A'mru B. Hamaq to attack those lion-hunting champions. When A'bdullah B. Zobeyr perceived the just-named individuals approaching the centre, he incited the men under his command to fight against them, saying: 'These are murderers of O'thmân, and having now obtained an opportunity you must wreak vengeance on them.' The people said: 'We hear and obey'; whereon he, preceding all of them, drew forth the arm of bravery, and a great contest took place, in which he was at last killed by the sword of A'mmâr B. Yâser. The victorious army then poured a rain of arrows upon the camel of A'ayshah, so that the howdah, which was defended by iron plates, looked like the back of a porcupine. The number of the slain was so considerable that horses could not walk quickly in that vast plain. Some of the ignorant Arabs who belonged to the army of the opponents were by turns leading the camel of A'ayshah and reciting verses, while the warriors of the glorious army were cutting off their hands with sabres; and it is known for certain that of the Bani Ommyah alone two hundred and seventy men lost their hands in this manner. Both parties fought valiantly, and strove so ardently that the tongue of the reed is unable to describe the contest.

On that terrible day A'li the Commander of the Faithful exerted himself to such a degree that the Dhu-l-fiqâr was snapped in twain. In this conflict A'mru B. Ashraf, who was the Rastam[67] of his period, came out from the lines of A'ayshah's army and walked into the battlefield, but every one of the victory-allied army who went out to fight him [was slain and] never returned to his post, till at last,

[67] A celebrated hero whose exploits are narrated in the 'Shâhnâmah' or Book of Kings, by Firdausi.

Hâreth B. Tzuhyr, who was brave like Sâm and Esfendiâr,* attacked A'mru, with the result, however, that both those heroes wounded each other mortally, and, falling on the ground of abasement, gave up their ghosts.—In that battle Mâlek Ashtar approached A'bdullah B. Zobeyr, who was holding the bridle of A'ayshah's camel in his hand, and having caught hold of him by the neck, prostrated him to the ground, and A'bdullah, grasping him, shouted: 'Kill me together with Mâlek.' As, however, Mâlek Ashtar was celebrated, no one killed him, so that he succeeded in extricating himself from the grasp of A'bdullah and returned to his lines, but whenever the battle of Jamal was afterwards mentioned, he used to say: 'On that day I escaped with my life because the son of Zobeyr called out my name.'—The hand of Zaid B. Ssuhân having been cut off by an infidel in some religious war, his holy and prophetic lordship—u, w. bl., etc.—said: 'Some of the limbs of Zaid will reach paradise sooner than himself.' A'ayshah had heard these words of his lordship, and when in this battle Zaid attained the honour of martyrdom fighting for the Commander of the Faithful, she bemoaned him, and said: 'As Zaid is a denizen of paradise, we belong to the rebellious faction.'

When the time of the anterior prayers arrived, the Bessrah people still continued to fight for their renown and honour, encircling the camel of A'ayshah, and as his lordship A'li the Commander of the Faithful knew that as long as the camel stood on its feet the antagonists would not cease fighting and shedding blood, he ordered Muhammad B. Abu Bakr and Mâlek Ashtar and Sa'd B. Qays, with some other tried warriors, to do their utmost to remove the people from A'ayshah and to hamstring her camel. They made repeated onslaughts, the blood of warriors dyed the ground with vermilion, and Mâlek Ashtar, having approached the camel, severed one of its legs with his sword, but it remained standing, whereon he cut off another leg, and when his lordship the Amir of the Faithful saw that it had

* Also Persian heroes of the 'Shâhnâma.'

not yet fallen, he shouted: 'Mâlek! cut off another leg, because this camel is protected by a *Jinn*' [*i.e.*, demon]. Mâlek obeyed and the camel was prostrated. It is recorded in the chronicle of A'athum Kûfy, that Aa'mesh B. Hanifah, who was a well-known man of Kûfah, had disabled the camel of A'ayshah. When the howdah swayed, the Commander of the Faithful said to Muhammad B. Abu Bakr: 'Succour thy sister. Take care that no arrow or sword injure her.' Muhammad then placed his hand inside the howdah and touched A'ayshah, who, recoiling with aversion, exclaimed: 'Who art thou whose hand has reached a spot which had never been touched except by that of the apostle of Allah?' Muhammad replied: 'I am thy brother.' When A'ayshah recognised her brother, she was tranquillized.—It is related that when the camel of A'ayshah was prostrated and her howdah swayed, she exclaimed: 'O father of Hasan, it is shaking!'

When the breeze of prosperity began to waft upon the exalted banners of A'li the Commander of the Faithful, and the bud of his desires commenced to blossom, he ordered A'ayshah to be conveyed to the house of Saafyah B. A'bdullah, the relict of Khozaa'y, whom A'li had in that battle despatched to the abode of perdition [*i.e.*, hell] with his Dhu-l-fiqâr. Then his lordship ordered the following proclamation to be heralded: 'Do not pursue the fugitives, strike no one who has already been wounded, and let every man who enters his own house, as well as everyone who throws away his arms, be safe from any injury at the hands of the victorious army.' It was also proclaimed that: 'Everyone who has taken anything besides horses and arms from the opponents must produce it so that it may be returned to its owner.' A man then asked: 'How is this, that it was licit to shed the blood of these people, but it is forbidden to take their property? Are they polytheists?' A'li replied: 'Nay, they have fled from polytheism.' He continued: 'Are they hypocrites?' The Amir answered: 'Hypocrites do not care much for God.' He further queried: 'Then who are they?' A'li Murtadza replied:

They are our brothers who have gone astray on the path of rebellion.' When, according to the command, to which obedience was due, the goods and clothes of the rebels had been returned to them, A'li asked, 'Where is the questioner, that he may hear a pleasing answer?' The man having responded to the call, A'li the Commander of the Faithful asked him: 'Would thy soul rejoice to obtain thy share of the booty from thy mother, namely, from A'ayshah?' According to another tradition, he said: 'Wouldst thou consider it proper to enrol the mother of the faithful among the prisoners?' After the man had heard these words he objected to the proposal and repented of what he had said.

It is on record that when on the day of Jamal [*i.e.*, of the camel] Merwân B. Hukum was brought to A'li B. Abu Ttâleb, the latter said: 'If all the people of the inhabited quarter of the world were to conspire, they could not deprive Merwân of more than one nail of his finger.' He also said to Merwân: 'Thy seed, namely, thy descendants, will bring calamities on the nation.' In fact, several of his progeny afterwards sat on the *masnad* of dominion, two of them being A'bdu-l-melik and Suleimân.—Shya'y states that on the day of Jamal, Merwân and A'mru B. O'thmân with his brother, and Sa'yd B. Amru Ala'ass, were made prisoners and brought to A'li the Commander of the Faithful, and that Ammâr Yâser said: 'These men ought to be killed.' His lordship replied: 'I do not kill chiefs of tribes when they repent.'—There is a tradition that in the battle of Jamal seventeen thousand of the army of the mother of the faithful, and nearly three thousand men of the troops of the Emâm of the Musalmâns—u. w. bl.—were slain.—In the 'Tarjumat Mostaqassa' it is recorded that the number of those of the army of the Amir of the Faithful who attained martyrdom did not exceed nine hundred.—When the noble intellect and luminous mind of his lordship the Amir had been delivered of all apprehensions after the battle of Jamal, he entered the cathedral mosque of Bossrah, mounted the pulpit, offered praises to God the

Most High, salutations to Muhammad the elect—u. w. bl.—and addressing the people who had congregated in that locality, not only admonished them, but also reproved the inhabitants of that province in most eloquent language. Then he despatched A'bdullah B. A'bbâs to Ssiddiqah with the message to prepare herself for departure to Madinah. Ebn A'bbâs obeyed orders, went to the castle of Ebn Khalaf where Ssiddiqah lodged, and having seen a cushion which had fallen into a corner of the house, took it up, and threw it down in a suitable place, taking his seat thereon. A'ayshah, addressing him from within the curtains of modesty, said: 'Thou hast not acted according to the usage of the prophet, who would not enter my house without my permission, nor take a seat on my cushion without my order.' A'bdullah B. A'bbâs replied: 'We have taught thee the usages, and have practised them before thee. And I swear by God that thy house is that in which the apostle of Allah had left thee when he departed to the next world, but thou hast acted unjustly towards thy own soul by coming out from the apartment of modesty and embarking in an enterprise which God the Most High does not approve of. Whenever thou returnest to thy original domicile, we shall never enter it without thy permission. The upshot of my words and import of my message is, that A'li the Commander of the Faithful orders thee to depart from Bossrah, to return to Madinah, and sitting in the mansion of comfort to spend thy life in ease.' A'ayshah replied: 'May God the Most High and Glorious have mercy upon the Amir of the Faithful!' Ebn A'bbâs continued: 'May the pardon of the Boundless Giver be upon him with unstinted abundance! the blessed individual whose injunction I am bearing to thee is A'li the Commander of the Faithful, who is in consanguinity and familiarity nearer to the apostle of Allah than anyone, who preceded all mankind in professing the religion, and whose merit in propagating and adorning the law exceeds that of all. His efforts in exalting the banners of Islâm are greater than those of anyone, and the duty of protecting thee is more

incumbent upon him than it was on Abu Bakr or O'mar. Ssiddiqah replied: 'O son of A'bbâs, hast thou come here to utter words like these to my face?' Ebn A'bbâs silenced her with abundant explanations, and she said at last: 'O son of A'bbâs, the most inimical country to me is that in which thou art.' A'bdullah B. A'bbâs then departed from the house of the mother of the faithful, and reported to the Emâm of the Musalmâns [A'li] all that had occurred. Then A'li the Commander of the Faithful sent Mâlek Ashtar to Ssiddiqah to induce her to go to Madinah. Mâlek Ashtar did as he was bidden, and rude words passed between him and A'ayshah, who would by no means agree to return to Madinah.—It is recorded in some histories that after Mâlek Ashtar had come back, his lordship the Amir of the Faithful went himself to the lodging of A'ayshah. When he entered the castle of A'bdullah B. Khalaf Alkhozâa'yi, his relict Ssafyah, who was also called Omm Alttolhah, wept for A'bdullah, who had been killed in that battle, and said to the Amir of the Faithful: 'O slayer of beloved persons, may God the Most High make thy children orphans, as thou hast caused mine to become.' The Amir of the Faithful replied: 'If I were a slayer of friends, I would order all those to be killed who are here at present;' hereby he meant A'bdullah B. Zobeyr and other rebels who were concealed in that house. When his lordship entered the apartment of A'ayshah, he said: 'O little red one,* repent of and be penitent for what thou hast done, and prepare to depart to Madinah, there being no other remedy for thee, because I heard the prophet of Allah say: "One of my wives will fight with thee, but when thou conquerest her, thou art to send her to her house." Thy house is in Madinah.' A'ayshah, whether she was willing or not, complied with the desire of his lordship, who then ordered Muhammad B. Abu Bakr [her own brother] to accompany her on that journey, with a number of women from Bossrah dressed in male garments to attend upon her on the road. According to one statement, he accompanied A'ayshah

* This expression has been explained in footnote 56.

three miles in his own noble person, and then returned to Bossrah. The just-mentioned females waited on A'ayshah at every stage when she alighted, but she was aggrieved and distressed, saying: 'A'li has not respected the honour [due to the wife] of the apostle of Allah, by causing me to be served by these persons.' When, however, these women arrived in Madinah, and had resumed their original clothes, Saiddiqah was pleased with what the Amir of the Faithful had done, and opened her mouth in praises towards the Shâh of men and lion of God.

It is related that after the conquest of Bossrah it was brought to the notice of A'li that A'ayshah felt aggrieved with him, and being asked for the reason, he said: 'Several things happened on account of which her envy and hatred were roused against me; one of these was, that when I once paid a visit to the apostle of Allah, in the apartment of A'ayshah, before the revelation of the verse concerning the privacy of women, his lordship made me sit near him, his elbow being on my thigh, and he conversed with me. This [familiarity] displeased A'ayshah, so that she said: "O son of Abu Ttâleb; thou art interfering between the apostle of Allah and me, thou leavest him neither in the day or night, and ceasest not to associate with him." His holy and prophetic lordship said: "O A'ayshah, no one is like A'li, because the first person who made profession of the Faith was he, and the first person to reach the lake Kawthar [in paradise] will be he, and the first person to shake hands with me on the day of the resurrection will be he" Again, when the apostle of Allah sent Abu Bakr on pilgrimage with the injunction to read the Qurân and the Surah of the "Declaration of immunity,"[70] he despatched me after him to take that Surah from him, and I recited it to the pilgrims as well as to the crowds which had assembled from every direction; also in preference to numerous other companions, his lordship had made me his legatee. Furthermore, on the day of slander,[71] I said to the apostle

[70] Qurân, ch. ix. See Part II., vol. ii., pp. 672-675 of this work.

[71] When A'ayshah was suspected of adultery. See Part II., vol. ii., pp. 435-442, of this work.

of Allah: "There are many women in the world, and if thou entertainest misgivings concerning A'ayshah, withdraw thy hand from her, and take another instead of her."'

There is a tradition of Saamyi' B. A'mru, that A'ayshah the mother of the faithful having once been asked what she thought of A'li B. Abu Ttâleb, she said: 'Why askest thou about a man who, when, in the death-agony of the apostle of Allah, saliva began to flow from his blessed mouth, would not allow it to fall to the ground, but, receiving it on the hand, smeared it on his own face; and what do you say about him who, when the honoured companions of the apostle were at variance with each other concerning the place where he was to be buried, said: "There is no spot more noble than that from which his precious soul departed to the proximity of God," and in spite of the difference of opinions discerning men considered his suggestion to be the best?' This tradition is, however, contrary to the statement recorded before concerning the place of sepulture of the lord of the apostolate.—After she had enumerated other qualities of his lordship [*i.e.*, of A'li], the questioners asked her: 'Then why hast thou opposed him and fought with him?' The mother of the faithful then wept, and said: 'Human beings are liable to commit errors, but I have repented of mine and have returned to God the Most High.'

Ebn Hamdân has narrated in his chronicle that when A'ayshah departed from Bossrah the wives of the nobles and magnates of that town accompanied her as far as three stages, and that the children and relatives of his sacred lordship A'li likewise accompanied her the same distance; and at the time of leave-taking she said to them: 'My relations with A'li are like those between women, relatives, and married couples, and I deem A'li to be the best and most excellent of all these.'—Muhammad B. Syryn states that on the day of Jamal A'ayshah asked Khâled B. Alwâshmah—who was one of the magnates that fought in the action of Jamal, and was highly esteemed by the mother of the faithful for his intellect, virtues, and good manners

—what had become of Ttolhah. He replied that he had been killed, whereon she asked about Zobeyr, and was told that he had left the battlefield in the beginning of the day, and that at the end of it the news of his death had arrived. She then asked about another of the associates [of the prophet], and was told that he had likewise joined his friends [in death]. Ssiddiqah then said: 'May God the Most High have mercy on them!' Khâled continued: 'Zaid B. Ssûhân the partisan of A'li has also been slain.' A'ayshah said: 'He is also one of those to whom [Divine] mercy has been granted.' Khâled asked: 'Will God—whose name be sanctified and exalted—assemble all these men, who have opposed and fought each other with the sword, in one place?' A'ayshah replied: 'The mercy of God exceeds all bounds of explanation, nor can anyone ask Him for the why and the wherefore of His acts.' Hearing these words, Khâled repented of what he had done, waited on A'li the Commander of the Faithful, was present in the battle of Ssafyn, and endeavoured to atone for the past [enmity he had manifested against A'li].

There is a tradition of Abu Thâbet, the manumitted slave of Abu Dhar Ghuffâry, that he said: 'After the termination of the battle of Jamal I waited on Omm Solmah, who received me kindly, and asked: "Where hast thou been in these times when the birds of hearts flew out from the nests of bodies?" I replied that I had been in attendance upon A'li the Commander of the Faithful, and contending against his enemies, and that after his noble mind had been delivered of this care, I hastened to kiss thy felicity-boding threshold. She replied: "Thou hast done well," and I have heard the apostle of Allah say: "A'li is with the Qurân, and the Qurân with him, nor will they be separated from each other until the time when they meet me on the banks of the Kawthar"' [in paradise].—A trustworthy author has a tradition that his holy lordship A'li the Commander of the Faithful having heard a noise of voices in the direction of the army of the mother of the faithful, asked for the meaning, and being told that they were cursing the

murderers of O'thmân, he exclaimed: 'May God the Most High respond to their prayer, for they are themselves the murderers of O'thmân!' That wish of his lordship the Amir of the true believers was fulfilled.

There is a tradition that, after the conquest of Bossrah, A'li the Commander of the Faithful appointed A'bdullah B. A'bbâs to be the governor of that province, with Ebn Samyah, who was during the administration of Moa'wiah known by the name of Zyâd B. Ommyah, and was very intelligent, as his lieutenant. It has already been recorded in these pages that in the beginning of his Khalifate A'li the Commander of the Faithful had appointed A'bdullah B. A'bbâs to the governorship of Yemen, but when Mâlek Ashtar heard of this appointment he said: 'It is strange that, while we are fighting with the sword, the sons of A'bbâs are governors.' Loosing in his wrath the bridle of self-restraint from his hands, Mâlek departed to Kûfah without asking permission from his lordship the Amir of the Faithful, who, apprehending that he might excite sedition among the people, hastened after him, overtook him, and meeting him, kindly said to him with many compliments: 'We have not grudged thee dominion and administration, but we have reserved thee for important affairs. I cannot dispense with thy company, especially in these days, when I am making the greatest efforts to march to Syria, and to annihilate the bloodthirsty warriors of that province. Now I confer upon thee the command of the army, and hope that, if it pleaseth Allah the Most High, with thy aid the affairs of my Khalifate and government will prosper.' Then Mâlek apologized and excused himself, whereon consultations took place between them, and they remained for some days in Kûfah, to see what would come out from behind the curtain of futurity.

Affairs of Egypt and of the Egyptians in the Days of the Khalifate of A'li the Commander of the Faithful—p. b. o. h.—and Account of the Events of that Time.

There is a tradition that Muhammad B. Abu Khodhyfah B. O'tbah B. Rabya'h had been spending all his time in ascetic and religious exercises. After his father Abu Khodhyfah had attained martyrdom in the battle of Yamâmah, Muhammad hastened to wait on O'thmân—may Allah be pleased with him—and having attracted the consideration of Dhu-n-nûryn,[72] he obtained influence and dignity at the residence of the Khalifate. After some time he requested O'thmân to bestow an appointment on him, whereon he sent him to Egypt. At that time, however, also Muhammad B. Abu Bakr had by order of the Khalifah of the period departed to that country. Both these men, although they openly pretended to be on good terms with A'bdullah B. Sa'd B. Abu Sarj, who was governor of the province of Egypt on behalf of O'thmân, were entirely devoted secretly to A'li the Commander of the Faithful. When the inhabitants of Egypt had witnessed the great piety, valour, and liberality of Muhammad B. Abu Khodhyfah, they entertained great respect for him, and he was thereby emboldened to reprove the behaviour of A'bdullah in public assemblies, saying: 'I do not know why O'thmân has appointed a tyrant like this to govern the Musalmâns.' When A'bdullah perceived that the utterances of Muhammad B. Abu Khodhyfah were likely to excite disloyalty towards the Khalifah, he sent a letter to Madinah to complain of this state of affairs, whereon O'thmân [instead of blaming] sought to reconcile Muhammad by sending him a costly robe, and ordering thirty thousand dirhems to be paid to him from the land-tax of Egypt. Having received this sum, he went to the cathedral mosque where he had assembled the Egyptians, and said: 'My enemies have written something

[72] 'Endued with two lights,' epithet of O'thmân B. O'ffan.

against me to O'thmân, but with the result that he has presented me with thirty thousand dirhems and with this robe, which is worth a thousand dirhems, as you may see, in order to bribe me.' The Egyptians, having obtained this information, lengthened their tongues of reproof against O'thmân, withdrew their hands from the skirt of loyalty to him, became partisans of Muhammad B. Abu Khodhyfah, and openly proclaimed their enmity against O'thmân. When Dhu-n-nûryn was apprised of what had taken place, he sent him the following reproachful letter: 'I have cherished thee a long time, and, expecting due regard from thee, have sown the seeds of affection into thy heart; but I now perceive that it has borne quite different fruit than that which I expected, and I do not know what the reason for thy opposition and thy restraining the people from loyalty to me may be.' This letter arrived in Egypt, but produced no effect.

When A'bdullah B. Sa'd had, at the time of the rebellion and the besieging of O'thmân the Amir of the Faithful, departed from Egypt to Madinah for the purpose of aiding and supporting him, the supreme authority in Egypt devolved upon Muhammad B. Abu Khodhyfah. After O'thmân had attained martyrdom, and A'li the Commander of the true believers had become established on the couch of the Khalifate, he appointed Qays B. Sa'd B. A'bâdah, who was one of the Arab ascetics and intelligent men of the period, to the governorship of Egypt, as has been jotted down above by the reed of explanation. Qays obeyed orders, departed to Egypt, and when he arrived there invited the inhabitants, in pleasing language and with heart-ravishing eloquence, to pay homage to his holy lordship the Amir of the Faithful. The people of Egypt adopted his advice, and accordingly preferred to walk on the straight road. Some inhabitants, however, of the surrounding districts, whose hearts were replete with affection for O'thmân, refused to do so, saying: 'We shall pay the land-tax, but keep our homage in abeyance until A'li has killed the murderers of O'thmân.' As this party was bold and strong,

Qays deemed it prudent, for the time being, to accept what they had promised, and not to oppose them.

It is on record that before the arrival of Qays B. Sa'd in Egypt, Moa'wiah B. Abu Sofiân had despatched A'mru B. A'ass with some men to that province, with instructions to get hold of the then governor by some stratagem. When A'mru B. A'ass had arrived near Egypt, he sent a courier with the following message to Muhammad B. Abu Khodhyfah: 'I have repented of paying homage to Moa'wiah, and A'li being superior to him in every respect for elevating the banners of Islâm and destroying unbelievers and tyrants, as is evident to everyone, I have turned away from Moa'wiah, and come here to make a covenant and agreement with thee, so that we may aid and support A'li according to our best ability as long as a spark of life remains in our bodies, and discharge our duties towards the Khalifate in partnership with thee. The upshot of these preliminary remarks is, that we ought to have an interview in a suitable place, so that we may tell to each other what we have to say.' Muhammad B. Khodhyfah, deceived by these words, fell into the trap, left the city, and met A'mru B. A'ass in an arbour, where both engaged in conversation till the men who had been placed in ambush rushed from every side into the arbour, took hold of Muhammad, fettered him, and conveyed him to Syria under the leadership of A'mru B. A'ass, where Moa'wiah cast him into prison. A few days afterwards the spouse of Moa'wiah, who was the daughter of Muhammad's uncle, concealed a file in the victuals which she sent to Muhammad, so that he filed off the bonds from his legs and escaped. In his flight he took refuge in a cave, where he was, however, discovered by A'bdullah B. A'mru Khusha'my, whom Moa'wiah had sent in pursuit of him, and caught. As, however, A'bdullah apprehended that, being a close relative of Moa'wiah, the latter would spare his life, he therefore killed him himself on that very spot, and returned to Damascus.

When his sacred lordship the Amir of the Faithful had

vanquished the army of Bossrah, and Qays B. Sa'd had become confirmed as Governor of Egypt, Moa'wiah was much dismayed and grieved, because he apprehended that if A'li the Commander of the true believers were to march from the Arabian E'râq, and Qays B. Sa'd—who had during the lifetime of the prince of existences—u. w. bl.—been a commandant of the Anssâr, and was distinguished by valour as well as intelligence—from Egypt to Syria, his authority would be imperilled; he therefore grasped with his hand the skirt of cunning and stratagem, and desired to induce Qays B. Sa'd, by fair promises and sweet words, to side with him in his opposition to the rightful Khalifah; but it did not occur to his mind that—

The cavalier of the world, the son of Destân-Sâm,
Will not in sport put his head into the snare.[73]

The statement just made is confirmed also by the following letter which he despatched to Qays: 'It is evident to the denizens of the world that the Lord O'thmân, whose exploits and laudable acts the calculator of imagination is unable to enumerate, has been killed by the sword of tyranny, and in this matter the Lord A'li took his full share. It is hoped that thou, who hast among others also been a partner in this crime, wilt repent and turn back to God, and wilt, according to thy power and best ability, aid and support me. If thou agreest with me and helpest me, the government of the Arabian and of the Persian E'râq will devolve upon thee as soon as we have attained our object and unveiled the countenance of our aspirations; but even before that time arrives I shall grant thee all thy desires and respond to all thy wishes.' When Qays had become acquainted with the contents of this letter, he wrote in reply: 'He who knows what is invisible and visible is aware that I have in no way agreed with the opponents of O'thmân, and that I have not assented to the murder of his lordship; neither do I know whether A'li the Commander of the Faithful has instigated anyone to kill him. I keep my adherence to thee in abeyance; be, however,

[73] This distich appears to be borrowed from the 'Shâhnâma.'

aware for a certainty that I shall never do anything which displeases thee.' When Moa'wiah had concluded from the perusal of this letter that Qays meant to impose upon him, he sent the following reply: 'Imposture and fraud will make no impression upon me. Be either my friend or my foe.' Afterwards Qays revealed his mind by despatching to him this message: 'I am astonished that thou advisest me to oppose a man who is more worthy than others, and has a greater right to the Khalifate and government, and is nearest to the apostle of Allah in character and relationship. Thou invitest me to obey one who is noted for qualities contrary to these. I shall by no means rebel against so blessed an individual, to become a partisan of Satan and to enrol myself in the army of Eblis.'[74] When Moa'wiah had despaired of enrolling Qays in his own interest, he resorted to a new stratagem, so that he effected his removal from the governorship of Egypt by the command of A'li the Amir of the Faithful. The details of this affair are: That after Moa'wiah had been disappointed in his efforts to bring over the Governor of Egypt to his own side, he often vented the following sentiments in public assemblies: 'Although Qays B. Sa'd outwardly pretends to be loyal to A'li, he gives me advice and makes professions of sincerity to me in every letter he sends me; and my allegation [that he only pretends to be loyal] is confirmed by the fact that he cultivates the friendship of, and associates with, such men as Yazid B. Hâreth, and Muslim B. Muhammad, and Bashir B. Artlah, and others of the people of Egypt, who have delayed to pay allegiance to A'li; and here is a letter which he has written to me: "The first man to fight against thy opponents and for thee will be myself."'—He uttered many sentiments of this kind, and when the relations of Qays with the hypocrites and opponents were brought to the notice of the Commander of the Faithful, who entertained suspicions of the Governor of Egypt, he stated them to Muhammad B. Abu Bakr and to A'bdullah B. Ja'fer, asking them for their opinion. They replied: 'If the Amir of the

[74] About Eblis, see Part I., vol. i., pp. 38-40, of this work.

true believers has lost confidence in Qays, let him draw the line of removal over the page of his duties, and, removing him from his post, appoint another man to be Governor of Egypt. Thou must, however, first prove and try him by ordering him to attack those people upon the river-banks of whose minds the trees of affection for O'thmân have been flourishing so that up to this time they have not paid allegiance to thee. If he cheerfully does his best to obey thy command, all will be well; but in the contrary case another governor must supersede him, to free thy noble mind from apprehensions.' A'li the Amir of the Faithful approved of this suggestion, and wrote the following letter to Qays: 'It is rumoured that the people of such and such a locality have up to this time not yet stretched forth the hand of allegiance, and have not yet placed the foot of obedience into the circle of loyalty to me. Thou art to invite them to pay homage to me: if they do so, all will be well; but if not, thou must attack them.' When Qays received this letter, and had understood its contents, he wrote in reply: 'The people whom the Amir of the Faithful commands me to attack are bold and powerful; they have many friends and adherents in the province of Egypt. If I engage in waging war against them and extirpating them, I shall be so occupied as to be unable to attend to any other business. At present circumstances require that I leave the opponents as they are, and have nothing to do with them.' When A'li the Commander of the Faithful had become acquainted with the contents of this letter, his suspicions about Qays increased, so that he consulted Muhammad B. Abu Bakr and A'bdullah B. Ja'fer Ttayyâr, and removed him from the governorship of Egypt, appointing thereto Muhammad B. Abu Bakr, who was the maternal brother of A'bdullah B. Ja'fer Ttayyâr. Then Qays returned in dismay and sorrow to Madinah, on which occasion Hasân B. Thâbet, who was somewhat ill-disposed towards A'li B. Abu Ttâleb, said to Qays: 'Thou, being an accomplice in the murder of O'thmân, hast been removed from thy post by A'li, but that great crime remains on thy neck.' Qays

replied: 'O thou whose heart and whose eyes are blind, be off from my assembly; and I swear by God that if I apprehended no hostilities between my people and thy tribe, I would deliver thy body from the load of thy head!' Merwân B. Hukum having likewise uttered words of the same purport to Qays, the latter waited in spite of them on A'li the Commander of the Faithful, and departed to Ssafyn. When Moa'wiah had been apprised of this act, he sent the following message to Merwân: 'If thou hadst sent a hundred thousand lion-killing men to aid A'li, I would have felt it less than thy sending Qays B. Sa'd to him.'

Muhammad B. Abu Bakr having arrived in Egypt, read out the letters patent appointing him governor to the nobles and magnates of Egypt, took his position on the *masnad* of the administration, and sent a courier with the following message to the partisans of O'thmân: 'Select one of two things, and either pay homage to A'li the Commander of the Faithful or emigrate from this province.' They replied: 'We must be given some respite that we may see what turn affairs will take.'—According to one tradition, Muhammad B. Abu Bakr was displeased with this answer, and despatched one of the Amirs with troops to attack those people, who, having drawn their hands out from the sleeve of bravery, vanquished these forces. Muhammad B. Abu Bakr then again sent troops, who were likewise defeated; whereon he sent a letter to A'li the Commander of the Faithful, to inform him of the state of affairs. When his lordship had ascertained that there was no other remedy except conciliation, he sent a message to Muhammad B. Abu Bakr, not to attack those people until the proper opportunity arrived, when they could be suppressed. After A'li the Commander of the true believers had become acquainted with the affairs of Egypt, and with the trick played by Moa'wiah to remove Qays therefrom, the latter rose in his esteem, and he repented of having sent Muhammad B. Abu Bakr to that province. When the people of Syria had resolved to adhere to Moa'wiah [and to support his claim to the Khalifate], he despatched

an army to Egypt, and they killed Muhammad B. Abu Bakr, as will be narrated in these pages if it pleaseth Allah —who be exalted.

The Rebels join Moa'wiah B. Abu Sofiân, and incite him to avenge the Blood of O'thmân.

The recorders of events—A. h. m. o. t.—have narrated in their writings that when O'thmân was slain, and the duties of the Khalifate and administration devolved on A'li the Commander of the Faithful, the treacherous disposition of certain people induced them to accuse him of having shed the blood of the third Khalifah. They departed to Syria, where they instigated not only Moa'wiah, but all classes of the population to retaliate, and one of the rebels exhibited the fingers of Nâylah with the blood-stained robe of O'thmân to the inhabitants. As Moa'wiah knew that no conciliation between him and A'li the Commander of the Faithful was possible, he determined to rebel against him and to alienate the population from him. He therefore ordered the blood-stained robe of O'thmân and one-half of the severed fist of the spouse Nâylah to be exhibited in the cathedral mosque of Damascus, narrating to the people that these things had all been perpetrated by the intervention of A'li the Commander of the Faithful, and excited them to such a degree that the champions of the province swore not to drink cold water nor to rest on soft beds until they had avenged the blood of O'thmân. When A'mru B. A'ass arrived from Falesttyn in Damascus, and witnessed this state of affairs, he said to Moa'wiah: 'If this exhibition takes place every Friday it will produce no effect, and it will be best hereafter not to show the garment of O'thmân and the fingers of Nâylah to anyone, except at the time of a combat, so as to incite the people to fight.' This suggestion being approved of by Moa'wiah, he ordered the articles to be locked up, and to be produced only at the time of a battle, as A'mru had advised him.—It is related that at the time O'thmân was besieged, A'mru B. A'ass departed from Madinah with his children to Falesttyn, where he took up

his residence. In that town there happened to be a man who possessed knowledge of future events and communicated information about them. One day A'mru B. A'ass inquired of him what he thought about O'thmân, and on his replying that he had been slain, he queried further: 'Upon whom will the duty of the Khalifate devolve after his martyrdom?' He replied: 'After O'thmân has deposited his furniture in the corner of non-existence an individual will take his position on the couch of the Khalifate, the like of whom the world will not see till its own destruction; he will, however, be killed by the sword of violence before the whole population has paid him allegiance; and the supreme power will be usurped by him who is at present the Governor of Syria, namely, Moa'wiah B. Abu Sofiân.' These words having become fixed in the mind of A'mru B. A'ass like an engraving upon a stone, he went, after that great catastrophe [i.e., the murder of O'thmân] to Moa'wiah to make preparations with him for waging war against A'li the Commander of the Faithful.

It is on record that after the murder of O'thman, A'mru B. A'ass consulted his two sons, namely, A'bdullah and Muhammad, one of whom was pious, of the U'lamâ, and one of the honoured companions [of the prophet], and the other a valiant cavalier of the day. He asked them whether it would be best to hasten to wait on A'li or to go to Moa'wiah in Syria. They replied: 'The nobility, virtue, lineage and pedigree of A'li the Commander of the Faithful are evident to thee as to everyone, and it would be good to adhere to him.' After considering the matter for a long while, A'mru said to his sons: 'A'li is not in need of men like ourselves, he being fully distinguished above all his contemporaries by the soundness of his discernment and perfect intellect, and by the adornment of bravery and of generosity. I am convinced that although we may do our utmost to serve him and to fight his enemies, we shall not attain our object, and our aspirations will in no way be fulfilled by attending on him.' A'bdullah replied: 'Loyalty to A'li will make us worthy of entering

paradise, but adherence to Moa'wiah will make us denizens of hell. Now make thy choice!' A'mru B. A'ass, having scorned the advice of his well-directed son, determined to proceed to Damascus, and started. When he had reached the spot where the roads leading to Erâq and to Syria meet, he asked his slave Wurdân where each of them was leading to. Wurdân, pointing to the road of E'raq, said: 'This is the road by which a traveller reaches beatitude and the abode of permanency.' Pointing to the road of Syria, he continued: 'The traveller on this road becomes subject to the fire of hell and to eternal punishment.' A'mru then applauded Wurdân, and recited verses on the subject, in some of which he extolled the virtues and exploits of A'li B. Abu Ttâleb, his worthiness to be Emâm and Khalifah, as well as his relationship to Muhammad the elect—u. w. bl. A'mru said: 'This is clear to me like the sun in the fourth quarter of the day, but wickedness, envy and greediness for the vanities of the world are hindrances to walking on the straight road, and causes of deflection from the right direction.' A'bdullah said: 'O father, dread the displeasure and wrath of God the Most High and Glorious, and do not make thyself worthy of the flames of *Sai'yr*.[75] Be certain that if thou joinest Moa'wiah I shall not accompany thee.' A'mru B. A'ass continued: 'Obedience to parents is one of the duties incumbent on children.' A'bdullah rejoined: 'This means a time when father and mother do not enjoin disobedience to the boundless Giver; but to oppose A'li and to wage war against him is a great crime.' A'mru continued: 'Thou hast only to accompany me in the journey, not with the intention of fighting A'li.' Then A'bdullah went with his father to Syria, and when A'mru B. A'ass arrived in Damascus, Moa'wiah was pleased with his arrival, beguiled the people to be friendly to him, and sent him by way of a gift fifty thousand dinârs, a horse and a camel, presenting his sons Muhammad and A'bdullah with equal amounts; the latter, however, would not accept his share, and sent it back with the message: 'The money of

[75] This is one of the names of hell.

the peor and of the adherents of Islâm are not thy property, and therefore not to be given away by thee.'—Let it not remain hidden from those who listen to [the reading of] histories, that some chroniclers have described the meeting between A'mru B. A'ass and Moa'wiah in another way, as will appear further on.

Fight of Mâlek Ashtar with the Rebels; and Account of some Transactions between A'li the Commander of the Faithful and Moa'wiah.

After the martyrdom of O'thmân the people of Jazirah A'rab, which expression is a metaphor designating several well-known towns, described in detail in certain books, paid allegiance to Moa'wiah and became his tributaries. When A'li the Commander of the Faithful had become aware of the attitude they had assumed, he appointed Mâlek Ashtar to govern that country, but Dzohâk B. Qays occupied that position in those days on behalf of Moa'wiah. When Dzohâk heard of the approach of Mâlek Ashtar, he asked the population of Raqqah to aid him to repel Mâlek, whereon they despatched a number of valiant men to reinforce him. When Mâlek Ashtar had arrived near Bahrân, Dzohâk issued with a great crowd from the fortress, arranged it in battle-array, and fought from morning till evening, but was at last put to flight by Mâlek and retired into the fortress, whereon the army of Kûfah surrounded it and commenced to besiege it. Moa'wiah, having been apprised of what was taking place, appointed A'bdu-r-rahman B. Khâled B. Wolyd with an army to repel Mâlek Ashtar, who, when he learnt that A'bdu-r-rahman was approaching, abandoned the siege, marched against him, met him, defeated him, put him to flight, pursued the fugitives and slew many of them. When Mâlek Ashtar had thus got rid of his opponent, he marched to Raqqah, and the population having taken refuge in the fortress, he laid siege to it. Moa'wiah, having obtained cognizance of this event, despatched Ayman B. Harym Alasdy with

numerous troops to reinforce Dzohâk, so that they might, in concert with each other, liberate the people of Raqqah from the siege, and expel Mâlek Ashtar from the province of Jazirah. When Ayman had joined Dzohâk crowds of people from the adjoining localities also came to their aid, so that the chiefs, emboldened by the large number of their troops, became confident of victory, and hastened together to Raqqah. Mâlek, on his part, trusting in Divine favour, departed from Raqqah, and marching against his opponents, encountered them. The warriors of both parties then worked with their swords, arrows and daggers, till at last, according to the verse, '*Our armies should surely be the conquerors*,'[76] the victory-boding army vanquished the black-hearted denizens of Syria, and the rebels, having been disgracefully routed, fled, and reached Moa'wiah in the worst plight. Having defeated the enemy, Mâlek A'shtar stretched out his hands for plunder, slaying everyone who offered resistance, and subjugating the province of Jazirah with his bright scimitar. Having consigned to writing all that had taken place, he sent an account of the victory to Kûfah.

When A'li the Commander of the Faithful had been apprised of the obstinacy and renewal of hostilities by Moa'wiah, he summoned the nobles and magnates of the country to an assembly, and the following words flowed from his pearl-dropping mouth: 'God—who be praised and exalted, and who is the Creator of all beings—approves only of those of His worshippers who walk on the right path, and as long as the bonds of love and friendship are cherished by them As long as they abstain from insulting, striking, and persecuting each other, they will not cease to enjoy power, and their affairs will be well regulated; if, however, the denizens of the world speak and act contrary to what I have just advocated, and they engage in blamable acts and utter unbecoming words, they will not prosper, and will ultimately be doomed to eternal perdition. What I have just said is confirmed by the fact that Moa'wiah has

[76] Qurân, ch. xxxvii. 173.

thrown the population of Syria into the vortex of doubt and uncertainty, and has averted them from loyalty to me by propagating the rumour that O'thmân B. O'ffan had been slain by me. He has accused me of this vile crime, and has despatched an army to attack Mâlek Ashtar, who is governor of the province of Jazirah on my behalf, and a disgraceful contest has taken place between the two parties. Not content with this result, he is at present doing his *utmost to fit out an army in Syria for the purpose of* waging war against me. It is my intention to send him a letter to advise and reprove him, so that he may perchance be admonished and restrain the antagonism which has taken possession of his mind. What is your opinion in this matter?' This harangue of A'li the Commander of the Faithful was greeted with loud applause by the whole assembly, and all exclaimed: 'The opinion of the Commander of the Faithful is our own; nothing can be added to it, and we shall obey him as if he were the apostle of Allah.' After a consultation, A'li the Amir of the true believers despatched the following letter to Moa'wiah B. Abu Sofiân: 'In the name of Allah the Merciful, the Clement! From the worshipper of Allah, the Prince of the Faithful, A'li makes the following declaration: He [*i.e.*, Moa'wiah] is to know that although he was absent on the day when the various classes of Mohâjer and Anssâr paid allegiance to me in Madinah, loyalty to me was incumbent on him, because those who had paid homage to Abu Bakr, to O'mar, and to O'thmân—Allah be pleased with them—and had agreed to their becoming Khalifahs, assented also to my Emâmship, willingly and gladly, deeming obedience to me to be incumbent on them. As those of the Mohâjer and the Anssâr who were present manifested no desire for delay, opposition or enmity, those who were absent had likewise no grounds for opposing me. But as to the slaying of O'thmân, it was an intricate event, and he who would narrate it is like a blind man, whilst those who listen are either such as have blamed O'thmân and killed him, or have been his friends, but had not the courage to rescue

him. Afterwards the higher and the lower classes have paid me allegiance, and everyone who fails to do so is acting against the dictates of reason and justice; it is, however, expected that such persons will consult their own safety, will abstain from opposition, and will reveal their intentions. Farewell.' Having indited this letter, he despatched it by Hajjâj B. Hozymah the Anssâri, who, when he had performed the journey, arrived in Damascus, waited on Moa'wiah, and observed in the course of conversation: 'Thou art one of those of whom O'thmân expected aid in quelling the rebellion, but they have failed to comply, and abandoned him' Moa'wiah, getting angry at these words, said: 'Return instantly and do not expect me to send a letter by thee One of my confidential men will go to Kûfah and will deliver my reply.' Then Hajjâj necessarily returned to A'li the Commander of the Faithful and reported what had passed between him and Moa'wiah.

When Wolyd B. O'tbah B. Mo'ytt heard that Moa'wiah was at enmity with A'li the Commander of the Faithful, and had dismissed his envoy without a reply, he was glad, and his heart being full of grudges against A'li, he incited Moa'wiah to kill him, and sent him some verses to that effect When Moa'wiah had perused the letter and the verses, he manifested great pleasure, and joining several [blank] papers, without writing anything upon them of peace or war, sealed them and wrote on them the address: 'From Moa'wiah to A'li B. Abu Ttâleb: salutation to him.' Then he gave this roll of paper to a man of the Bani A'ys who was distinguished by eloquence and temerity, telling him to carry it to A'li the Commander of the Faithful, and entrusting him also with an oral message. The man accordingly took possession of the blank paper,[77] departed to Kûfah, and when he arrived there the rumour was propagated that an envoy had come from Moa'wiah with a sealed letter. After this news had spread, the messenger was introduced into an assembly consisting of Mohâjer,

[77] This was no doubt Egyptian papyrus, real paper not having been invented at that time.

Anssâr, magnates and chiefs of Kûfah, and, having been presented to A'li the Commander of the Faithful, he asked him: 'Who art thou? Whence comest and what news hast thou?' He replied: 'I am a man of the Bani A'ys, an envoy of Moa'wiah, from Syria, and have brought a letter with a seal.' From these words of the envoy, the members of the assembly concluded that the chiefs of Syria had paid allegiance to the Amir of the pious, and that their names were contained in the document; the papĕr, however, being opened, was found to contain no names:

I expected a list of the free from my contemporaries·
They gave a paper into my hands, but it was blank!

The envoy was then questioned whether he knew what opinions the people of Syria entertained of A'li, and he replied. 'Fifty thousand good and pious men have congregated around the robe of O'thmân and are keeping their cheeks and beards moist with tears, shedding bloody ones day and night from grief for having lost him! They have drawn forth the scimitar of vengeance from the scabbard, and have made a covenant not to let go hold of the hilts of their swords until they have exterminated the murderers of O'thmân. They are so earnest in this matter that they are enjoining their children to avenge the blood of O'thmân, and mothers instruct their infants how to do it. In this way children are growing up, and those who had hitherto cursed Satan, at present curse the slayers of O'thmân.' His holy lordship A'li the Commander of the Faithful then asked: 'What persons are in thy opinion, and in that of the people, guilty of the blood of O'thmân?' He replied: 'Thou art thyself one of them' His lordship rejoined· 'May thy mouth be filled with earth! How can I be guilty of the crime of killing him?' On this occasion one of the Bani A'ys, who bore the mark of loyalty to his lordship the Amir of the Faithful on his forehead, addressed the envoy of Moa'wiah as follows: 'Thou art an individual unworthy to be appointed an envoy from Moa'wiah, and thy unhallowed mouth has uttered disgraceful words. Thou wast

extremely shameless in trying to frighten his lordship the Amir, the Mohâjer and the Anssâr with the account of weeping around the coat of O'thmân; for that coat is not the coat of Joseph,[78] nor the weeping that of Jacob. If they are now deploring his murder, why have they not rescued him when he was besieged and helpless? Their intention of waging war against the Amir of the pious, which they entertain, is futile, because he is under the protection of Divine favour and guidance, so that he will prevail and vanquish the rebels, because God is the Protector of His worshippers the true believers.' On this occasion a disturbance ensued, and certain supporters of the Khalifate drew their swords with the intention of killing that man, but his sacred lordship A'li the Commander of the Faithful prohibited them, saying: 'All intelligent men consider it proper not to slay or imprison ambassadors and messengers.' The envoy of Moa'wiah, who had witnessed this scene, now rose to his feet, and said: 'O Amir of the Faithful, on account of the many disparaging words uttered against thee by the adherents of Islâm in Syria, I had up to the present time hated no man more than thee! Now, however, as I have attained the felicity of kissing thy feet, and have listened to thy heart-ravishing words, have beheld thy perfect meekness and compassion, I love no man more than thee! I am convinced that the population of Syria is drowned in the sea of aberration, and that the Amir of the Faithful is, with his adherents, walking on the right path. I swear by God that I shall never separate from thee, and never follow anyone besides thee.' On that occasion he recited likewise some poetry concerning the deflection of Moa'wiah from the straight road, and the progress of A'li the Commander of the Faithful, with his adherents, in the true direction. He sent those verses to Syria, and when Moa'wiah obtained cognizance of them, he was disappointed, astonished, and said: 'Would that I had not despatched this eloquent man as my envoy! That

[78] For the Moslem version of the story of Joseph, see Part I., vol. i., pp. 198-289 of this work.

ungrateful fellow will undoubtedly inform A'li of the state of affairs in these parts, and will incite him to wage war against us.' After Moa'wiah had despaired of the return of his messenger, he sent another, who was one of the ascetics of Yemen living at that time in Syria, and gave him a letter to the residence of the Khalifate, the contents of which were as follows: 'God, who be praised and exalted, has selected the apostle of Allah from among the denizens of the world, enjoining the simple and the gentle of the Arabs to aid and to support him, the most excellent and the most judicious among them being Abu Bakr the Khalifah [*i.e.*, successor] of the apostle of Allah, who was followed by O'mar and O'thmân. Thou, however, hast envied each of them, and hast delayed paying homage to all of them, doing so at last unwillingly, and professing loyalty to those blessed men in thy confusion. Thou hast envied O'thmân more than the others, although he was nearer to thee in kinship than all the others; thou hast represented his good acts as if they had been evil, and hast deemed it proper to cut the bonds of consanguinity. Thou hast instigated persons to kill him in thy district, and hast excused thyself from the duty of succouring him. The true indication and just testimony for my allegations are that his murderers are enrolled among thy supporters and adherents. I desire and expect thee to send the murderers of the unjustly slain and martyred Khalifah to me, that I may chastise them for what they have done, but in the contrary case there will be no arbiter between us except the sword and dagger. Be aware that I shall search for the murderers of O'thmân by sea and land, in mountains and dales, and that I shall not rest until I slay them all, or cause them to be slain.' When the envoy of Moa'wiah had, after duly traversing the distance, attained the felicity of an interview with A'li the Commander of the Faithful, he was, on account of his reputation for sanctity, received with great demonstrations of honour, and spoke thus: 'I testify that I know of no one more worthy than thyself to be adorned with the garland of the Kha-

lifate and to be confirmed on the couch of dominion, there being no one equal to thee in heroic exploits, nor in external and internal laudable qualities. I know, moreover, that O'thmân has been killed by the sword of unrighteousness, and that Moa'wiah is on this ground basing his opposition towards the Amir of the Faithful. If there be any of the murderers sojourning at the threshold of the exalted castle of Emâmship, it would be easy, if the knot-solving intellect of his sublime lordship were to consider it proper to surrender them [to Moa'wiah], so that the dust of rebellion might be laid and the rope of contention torn.' His sacred lordship Ali the Commander of the true believers replied: 'I imagined thee to be adorned with the decoration of understanding and endowed with intellect! Who is Moa'wiah that I should surrender to him those who have encompassed the death of O'thmân, that he may judge them? It is, on the contrary, incumbent upon him to obey me, and to assent to the decision of the Mohâjer and the Anssâr. After that the friends and children of O'thmân may be assembled to point out those whom they suspect of having slain him, whereon the legitimate Khalifah will decide between them according to the tenets of the noble law.' A few days afterwards, when A'li the Commander of the Faithful dismissed the envoy of Moa'wiah, he gave him the following letter: 'Thy epistle has arrived, and I have learned the contents thereof; nobody entertains any doubt concerning the good acts and noble character of Abu Bakr, described by thee; but as to O'thmân, if he has acted well, he has reached the proximity of the mercy of the Nourisher, who requites beneficent men in the handsomest manner; if, however, he was distinguished by the contrary of what I allege, he has likewise been received in the pavilions of the glory of the Lord, whose grace and magnanimity are boundless. As it is known for certain that the Lord, who is the most merciful of the merciful, will reward the acts of beneficent men in conformity with their efforts, I entertain hopes that I and the members of the family of the apostle of Allah will be rejoiced by an abundant share

of beatitude; for we have been the first to believe in his apostolate and prophetship; in the beginning of the mission, when the opponents intended to slay the lord of apostleship, we have disregarded the safety of our own life, and desired in this matter to gain the approbation of the Lord Most High, and of the apostle. At the time when the Qoraish had made a covenant with each other in writing to bear him enmity, and his lordship had entered the Shi'b,[79] we followed him; and when God—who be exalted and glorified—had delivered him from that calamity, we gave thanks for the favour, and remained in attendance on the threshold of prophecy, till the apostle received the [Divine] command to emigrate, and when he honoured Madinah by his presence, we likewise departed from our accustomed abode and joined him. When hostilities began, we likewise jeopardized our lives in attendance on his heaven-aspiring stirrup, and in this manner my cousin, O'baydah B. Alhâreth B. A'bdu-l-muttalleb was on the day of Bedr despatched by the swords of the unbelievers from this perishable to the eternal mansion; my uncle Hamzah attained martyrdom in the battle of Ohod; my brother Ja'fer likewise perished in the fight of Mowtah, and I myself combated and streve in the battles which the apostle of Allah had honoured with his presence. I always desired to attain martyrdom, and would that I had perished in one of these contests, so that I might have escaped from thy letters and messages, and might have been delivered from the insults and enmity with which thou persecutest me and my friends. It is very strange that thou hast written me a letter extolling the virtues of the companions of the apostle, but hast not mentioned those members of his family who have jeopardized their lives for the sake of gaining the approbation of God the Most High and of the apostle. As to what thou hast written about my envy of, and opposition to, the Khalifahs, it is wholly

[79] The narrow pass in Mekkah where the prophet had taken refuge, and which has been already described. See Part II., vol. i., p. 184, of this work.

untrue, and far from deflecting to the road of futility like thyself, and opposing them, my delay in paying homage to them was evident to all and excused by everybody: because when the most holy soul of the lord of apostleship had been taken away, the notables of Islâm and the honoured companions were embarrassed, because the Anssâr said to the Mohâjer: "Let there be an Amir from you and an Amir from us." It was their privilege to elect a suitable man for the Khalifate, because they had offered their breasts as targets to the arrows of misfortune in the service of the apostle, disregarding their property and the claims of their own families. When, however, the Qoraish represented to them that the best of men had been selected for the [Divine] mission from their own tribe, the Anssâr ceased their opposition and assented. Now, if the claim of the Qoraish was deemed by them to be valid, I think you ought to be convinced by the same argument, so that I, being the nearest of the companions and the most worthy of the sons of Adam, ought to have been the successor of the apostle. O Moa'wiah, if thou wilt look with the eye of discernment, and lay aside arrogance, it will be clear like the sun to thee that I ought to occupy the *masnad* and position of his lordship; but if thou still doubtest, inquire whether, at the time the apostle of the Lord of both worlds joined the proximity of the Most Merciful, thy father Abu Sofiân and my beloved uncle A'bbâs B. A'bdu-l-muttalleb had not assented to my homage. I was, however, displeased with the dissensions of the companions, abstained from compliance, and, striving to tranquillize the people, said: "The waves of disturbance are now rising, and you must take refuge in the ship of Divine grace to save your lives from this fearful vortex in order to reach the shore of security. Abstain from walking on the path of enmity, and thus manifest your noble disposition; throw off from your heads the diadem of pride, ambition and boasting. Whoever soars upwards on the wings of trust, and submits to the Divine command, will attain his object, and the bird of his soul will be liberated from the bonds

of lust and covetousness, because the enjoyments of the world are like water, the taste and colour of which are changeable, and like a morsel which sticks in the throat of him who swallows it. If I desire to be Khalifah, the people will say, 'He is ambitious for dominion,' and if I do not aspire to it, but sit down in the corner of safety, they will say, 'He fears death.' Alas, alas! I swear by God that I, the son of Abu-Ttâleb, covet death more than a suckling the breast of his own mother, because I have become aware of mysteries and of hidden secrets, which, if I were to promulge them, would make people tremble and oscillate like a slender cord in a deep well." But as to what thou hast said about my inciting people to slay O'thmân, thy words are untrue and false, without a particle of verity, because at the time he was besieged I despatched my two beloved sons, [who were] the pupils of the eyes of the apostle, to protect O'thmân in his calamity, but their ability having been unable to resist the Divine predestination, they could effect nothing. Thou, however, O Moa'wiah, hast abandoned O'thmân and departed to Syria to become a governor, and now thou seekest to attain supreme power on the pretext of striving to chastise his murderers, if thou really desirest to get hold of them, thou must first pay allegiance to me, that they may be dealt with according to my orders and in conformity with the brilliant law.' This letter was given by A'li the Commander of the Faithful to Turmâj B. A'dy Hâtim Ttây for conveyance to Moa'wiah, in whose assembly he uttered strange words, which are recorded in detail in various chronicles.

A'LI THE COMMANDER OF THE FAITHFUL—U. W. P.—SENDS JARYR B. A'BDULLAH ALBAHLY AS AN ENVOY TO MOA'WIAH, WHEREON THE LATTER SUMMONS A'MRU B. A'ASS FROM FALESTTYN, AND CONSULTS HIM ABOUT RESISTANCE TO A'LI THE COMMANDER OF THE FAITHFUL —U. W. P.

Some of the U'lamâ of histories—A. h. m. o. t.—have related that A'li the Commander of the Faithful had ordered Jaryr B A'bdullah Albahly, who had during the sway of O'thmân been governor of the province of Hamdân, to pay him allegiance, and had also invited Asha'th B. Qays Alkindy, who had governed the province of Adharbâyjân during the Khalifate of O'thmân, to pay him homage, so that both of them were, after the battle of Jamal, exalted in Kûfah by kissing the threshold of the nest of the Khalifate.—When Turmâh [*supra* Turmâj] returned from Syria, and had narrated the state of affairs prevailing there, A'li the Commander of the Faithful said to his intimate friends: 'Although I am of opinion that the hardness of heart and levity of mind will not allow Moa'wiah B. Abu Sofiân to enroll himself in the ranks of those who have paid allegiance to me, I nevertheless mean to send to him one of the most glorious companions of the apostle of Allah as an envoy, in order to discuss the matter with him, and to induce him to become friendly.' Thereon Jaryr B. A'bdullah, being very desirous to undertake this function, spoke as follows: 'O Amir of the true believers, this business is my business. I have many relatives and tribesmen in Syria, and Moa'wiah will not deem it prudent to act contrary to my advice.' Mâlek Ashtar then said to his lordship: 'Do not send Jaryr as an envoy, because I suspect his duplicity.' Jaryr, incensed at these words, rejoined: 'What deficiency hast thou heretofore discovered in my loyalty to the Khalifate, that thou suspectest me of treachery?' Mâlek replied: 'At the very beginning of the ascendant of the affairs of A'li the Commander of the Faithful, I invited thee to wait upon him, but thou hast

delayed, and remained in the governorship of Hamdân; when, however, his lordship had in Bossrah vanquished the army of Zobeyr and of Ttolhah, thou hadst no other escape but to take refuge in the shadow of his protection.' A'li the Commander of the Faithful, however, disregarded the words of Mâlek, and having loaded the ears of Jaryr with pearls of advice and admonition, said: 'O Jaryr, do not mind the troubles of the road and fatigues of the journey, but hasten to Moa'wiah and invite him to adhere to me. If he becomes ennobled by the honour of paying allegiance to me, all will be well, and in the contrary case we shall obtain a proof [of disloyalty] against him.' When Jaryr had been nominated envoy to Syria, he borrowed the speed of lightning, departed to that province, and duly reached it after traversing the distance. Moa'wiah, being desirous to show honour to Jaryr, ordered his people to lodge him in a high castle When Jaryr had rested himself from the fatigues of the journey, he paid a visit to Moa'wiah, presented himself as an ambassador, and invited him in eloquent terms to pay homage to A'li the Commander of the Faithful. Moa'wiah, however, asked for delay, his intention being to ascertain how the nobles and respectable classes of Syria were disposed towards him. He despatched Shorahbyl B. Shamatt to various parts of the country for the purpose of inciting the inhabitants to avenge the blood of O'thmân. When Moa'wiah had learnt that the people of Syria agreed with him on this point, he assembled them, and said: 'There is no doubt that O'thmân had been unjustly killed. Do you assent that his blood should remain unavenged?' They replied in conformity with his expectations, and agreed with him to oppose A'li the Commander of the Faithful.

Abu Hanifah Dinwari and some other historians narrate that when Jaryr B. A'bdullah had gone to Syria and delivered to Moa'wiah his message which dealt with peace and war, promises and threats, Moa'wiah assembled the nobles and the members of his own house to consult them on the matter, and his brother, O'tbah B. Abu Sofiân, said on this

occasion: 'It is my opinion that thou shouldst seek the aid of A'mru B. A'ass in this affair.' Moa'wiah having approved of this suggestion despatched a letter to A'mru of this purport: 'Thou must have heard what has befallen Zebeyr, Ttolhah, and A'ayshah from A'li, and now Jaryr B. A'bdullah has by his orders arrived in this province to receive my allegiance, but my reply in this matter will depend upon thy knot-solving intellect; my request, therefore, is that thou shouldst favour us with thy presence, so that we may act in conformity with thy advice.' When A'mru had ascertained that Moa'wiah stood in need of him, he departed without delay from Falesttyn with his two sons, A'bdullah and Muhammad, and reached Damascus after traversing the distance, whereon Moa'wiah said to him in a private interview: 'At present three emergencies have arisen which are distasteful to me: The first is, that Muhammad B. Khodhyfah has broken his bonds and fled to Bossrah or Egypt, the second is, that the Byzantine emperor has collected an army to wage war against me, and the third is, that A'li B. Abu Ttâleb has sent Jaryr B. A'bdullah with the message: "If Moa'wiah and the people of Syria do not pay allegiance to me, let them be prepared for hostilities."' A'mru B. A'ass replied: 'The flight of the son of Khodhyfah is a small matter; some people ought to be sent in pursuit of him, if they are able to capture him, so much the better, but be not dismayed in the contrary case, because he can do thee no harm at all. Neither be much concerned about the intention of the Byzantine emperor, because as soon as thou surrenderest to him the Byzantine prisoners who have accumulated in Syria, and beginnest negotiations for peace, he will be only too glad to conclude it; I am, however, somewhat perplexed concerning the difficulty with A'li B. Abu Ttâleb, because the adherents of the religion consider him superior to thee in lineage, as well as in hereditary and in acquired qualifications, deeming them to be more excellent and preferable to those of a man like thyself.' Moa'wiah replied: 'A'li desired O'thmân to be killed, fomented dissensions, and filled the vessel of

harmony with the chaff of opposition.' A'mru B. A'ass said: 'But A'li enjoys priority in Islâm, and consanguinity with his lordship the best of creatures, of which thou art void.' Moa'wiah continued: 'What thou hast said is quite true, but it is possible to beguile men, and cunningly to dress up for them falsehoods in the garb of truth, and if I am inclined I may send a man like thee [to do so] who has no equal in discernment and intelligence.' A'mru said: 'I am well acquainted with thy tricks and stratagems, in which Satan himself is taking daily lessons from thee, but when I look at thee I become aware of the workings of thy mind, and thou canst by no means deceive me.' Moa'wiah pretended to disregard this insinuation, and conversing on various subjects, afterwards said: 'Bend thy head towards me that I may tell thee something in thy ear.' A'mru complied, whereon Moa'wiah took hold of his ear with the teeth, and then said: 'Behold how I have deceived thee, there being no one here except we two, and how thou hast lent thine ear to hear a secret. Now, let alone quibbling and act with me, so that we may get rid of A'li and attain supreme power.' A'mru replied: 'It is a hazardous thing to forfeit our prospects of the next world for mundane advantages, it being plain to everybody that to side with thee in this matter and to wage war against A'li will entail disastrous consequences and abasement at last; but if I am, nevertheless, to act in concert with thee, thou must comply also with my wishes and fulfil my aspirations.' Moa'wiah said: 'There will be no difficulty in complying with thy aspirations. State them' A'mru continued: 'My wish is that when thou hast obtained possession of Egypt, with all its dependencies, thou shouldst surrender it to me.' Moa'wiah rejoined. 'How can I dispense with Egypt? It is equal to E'râq.' A'mru continued: 'As the whole world [*sic*] will belong to thee, thou mayest as well give Egypt to me' Moa'wiah being displeased with this remark said nothing, but some allege that A'mru had replied to Moa'wiah: 'When I obtain possession of Egypt thou wilt reign in the country; this, however, can take place only

after thou hast vanquished A'li.' As Moa'wiah still demurred to comply with the demand of A'mru, he departed and returned to his domicile. When O'tbah B. Abu Sofiân had heard of the refusal of Moa'wiah, he reproved his brother for it, saying: 'Why hast thou not placed under obligations a man like A'mru, who is distinguished above his contemporaries by shrewdness and intellect, and hast not promised to give him Egypt, which thou knowest not whether it will ever fall into thy possession? To oblige him thus would make him obedient and subject to thy behests.' Moa'wiah approved of the suggestion of his brother, and had next day an interview with A'mru, showed him much respect, and gave him the promise he coveted, which, having been consigned to writing, the nobles of Syria affixed their signatures to it When harmony and friendship had thus been established between A'mru and Moa'wiah, the latter asked him: 'What are, in thy opinion, the means of getting rid of A'li, who is the best and most excellent man of the period?' A'mru replied: 'At this time, when Jaryr B. A'bdullah Albahly, who is the best man in E'râq, has been deputed by A'li the Commander of the Faithful to receive professions of allegiance to him, it will be expedient to persuade the inhabitants that O'thmân B O'ffan has been slain at the instigation of A'li B Abu Ttâleb, and for that purpose to invite Shorahbyl B. Shamatt Alkindy, who is connected with the administration of Syria, to hold meetings with the notables of the country, and to explain to them, in such a manner as will admit of no doubt, that the son of Abu Ttâleb was an accomplice with the murderers of O'thmân—nay, the prime mover and instigator to the commission of the foul deed.' Moa'wiah thereon not only sent a courier in haste to call Shorahbyl, but also despatched Zaid B. Ans, and Bashar B. Arttâ, and Sofiân B. A'mru, and Muhâraq B. Alhâreth, and Hamzah B. Mâlek, and Hâbes B. Sa'd, with several others, whom he ordered one by one to meet Shorahbyl, and to narrate to him the accusations against A'li. They obeyed, and when the administrator of Syria had heard the same tale from

all of them he became angry, hastened to the assembly of Moa'wiah, and said: 'I have heard from numerous men, whose words may be trusted, that the son of Abu Ttâleb had a hand in the murder of O'thmân. I swear by God that if thou payest allegiance to him, we shall expel thee from the country of Syria.' Moa'wiah replied: 'How could I oppose you? I am one of yourselves, and have no other support besides you.' Shorahbyl then wanted Jaryr B. A'bdullah to be dismissed in order to convey to A'li the information that the inhabitants of Syria were unanimous in their opposition to him; Moa'wiah, however, delayed sending him away, and replied to Shorahbyl: 'What we aim at will be accomplished when the population of this country agrees with us. Now it will be proper for thee to travel about to invite the people to pay allegiance to us, and to avenge the blood of O'thmân upon A'li and upon his adherents.' Shorahbyl then went by the direction of Moa'wiah into the localities surrounding Damascus, persuading the inhabitants that A'li, having killed O'thmân with the pitiless sword of tyranny, had now subjugated the whole country except this province, and was marching at present with an army bent on hostilities to Syria, for the purpose of exterminating the denizens thereof, but that no one was more able or powerful to ward off this calamity than Moa'wiah. After expatiating abundantly on this subject, he continued: 'It will now be proper for you to hasten, for the purpose of avenging the blood of O'thmân, to Moa'wiah, so that you may attain glory in this world and an eternal reward in the next.' Shorahbyl had been so profuse in his beguiling speeches that he decoyed the people into the desert of aberration; and they, having responded to his call, made preparations for war, and expected orders from Moa'wiah to attend on him. When the readiness of the inhabitants of Syria to follow him had become known to the foe of the chief of Islâm [*i.e.*, to Moa'wiah], he summoned Jaryr B. A'bdullah to his presence, and said: 'Return now to Kûfah, and tell A'li to wash his hands of the loyalty of the Syrians, and inform

him also that they are unanimous in the desire to avenge the blood of O'thmân, who had been their oppressed Khalifah. They are prepared to wage war against thee. Be thou ready to fight, because the time for negotiations has elapsed.' After Jaryr had been four months in Syria he departed, made haste to wait on A'li the Commander of the Faithful, and represented to him the state of affairs. Mâlek Ashtar said: 'O Amir of the Faithful, I swear by God that if thou hadst sent me to Moa'wiah, instead of Jaryr, this matter would have terminated to thy satisfaction, because I would have so grasped his throat as to stop his breath and make an end of the quarrel. I would have defeated all his stratagems, explained his character to the people of Syria, and destroyed his authority. I advised thee in the beginning of this affair not to send Jaryr as an envoy and messenger, because he is an easy-going man, and has no perseverance; he considered this important subject to be of little account, and spent four months in the company of Moa'wiah without caring for any business, yielding to him in every matter. His mission has injured the affairs of the country and of the religion, and shaken the foundations of both.' Jaryr rejoined: 'O Mâlek, by Allah! if A'li the Commander of the Faithful had deputed thee to Syria, the day of thy life would have been changed into evening by the wounds from bloodthirsty warriors, because they consider thee to have been one of the murderers of O'thmân.' Mâlek retorted: 'Restrain thyself from such childish words; and I swear by God that if I had been in thy place, I would have arranged this matter in such a handsome way, and would have so dealt with Moa'wiah, that, willingly or not, he would have acted according to my advice, and the negotiations would have ended satisfactorily. Thou hast been there, hesitated all the time, and, after being deceived by the cunning words of Moa'wiah, hast returned without effecting thy purpose, and hast in reality allowed thy friendship for Moa'wiah to overpower thy mind; and the truth of what I am saying is confirmed by the fact that

thou art constantly rehearsing to A'li the Commander of the Faithful the unanimity of those people in their enmity to him, and art attempting to intimidate us with the vast multitude of those erring men.' Jaryr asked: 'Why goest thou not now, so that thy ability may become manifest?' He queried in his turn: 'What is the use of my going after thou hast spoiled the transaction?' Jaryr being dismayed at what he had done, Mâlek continued: 'I swear by God that, if the Amir of the Faithful will permit, I shall retain thee and others who cannot be trusted in this assembly, and not allow you to leave it until the quarrel with Moa'wiah has been settled.' These words so incensed Jaryr that he departed that very night from Kûfah with some of his family, without permission from the residence of the Khalifate.

A'bdullah B. O'mar B. Alkhattâb goes to Syria, and Exchange of Letters and Messages between the Great Companions and Moa'wiah B. Abu Sofiân.

It has been recorded before that, after A'bdullah B. O'mar had slain Hormyzân, who was living under the protection of the Bani Hâshem, O'thmân had paid the blood-ransom from the public treasury. When the couch of the Khalifate had become embellished by the person of [A'li,] the governor of the city of the Vicariate, A'bdullah, fearing retaliation, took refuge in Syria, where Moa'wiah, pleased with his arrival; took him to a private apartment, condoled with him for the loss of O'thmân, and desired to make him assent that A'li the Commander of the Faithful had been an accomplice in the martyrdom of Dhu-n-nûryn.[80] A'bdullah, however, replied: 'How could A'li B. Abu Ttâleb, who is adorned with the decorations of high lineage, personal accomplishments, and Divine favours, distinguished and unique, be accused of faults, and by what reasonable or fictitious arguments can the mouth of blame be opened against him? Am I to consider him guilty of the blood of

[80] 'Endowed with two lights,' epithet of O'thmân.

O'thmân to please a few chiefs?' A'mru B. A'ass observed: 'The original intention and the whole object [of the above allegation] is to persuade those who are near and far to blot out affection for A'li from their minds, and to imbue them with interest for Moa'wiah.' Hearing these sentiments, A'bdullah departed from the assembly; whereon Moa'wiah said to A'mru B. A'ass: 'I swear by God that if it had not been for fear of the sword of A'li, no one would have seen this man in Syria, considering the way in which he extolled the qualities and perfections of the son of Abu Ttâleb in our presence.' A'mru B. A'ass queried: 'O Moa'wiah, deniest thou, perchance, the excellent character, the good qualities, and the beautiful genealogy of A'li? By Allah! A'li is such as A'bdullah has described him, and even more excellent. There is no doubt that we have been deceived by worldly aspersions, have deflected from the right path, and have abandoned the service of a blessed man, which is fraught with temporal and eternal happiness. We shall do penance for our acts when it will be of no avail; and it is an old saying, "*Verily, thou repentest now, when repentance is of no use.*"' This conversation which had passed between Moa'wiah and A'mru B. A'ass was reported to A'bdullah, who, when the people had assembled, addressed them, according to a promise he had made to Moa'wiah. He mounted the pulpit, lauded God the Most High, uttered salutations to his lordship Muhammad the elect—u. w. bl.—spoke a few words of advice and admonition, and then came down from the pulpit without having uttered a single word about his lordship O'thmân the Commander of the Faithful. Moa'wiah then asked: 'Was fatigue or weakness the cause of thy silence in the matter of the treachery of A'li towards O'thmân, and of not keeping thy promise?' A'bdullah replied: 'I was ashamed before the majesty of the Lord Most High, and the pure, sacred spirit of his lordship the apostle of Allah, to speak a lie in the pulpit, and to accuse the Amir's lordship [*i.e.*, A'li] of an act which he was very far from committing, and to bear witness in such an assembly to what has never taken

place. If I had uttered this falsehood, I and thyself would be reproved in this, and chastised in the next, world.' Moa'wiah, being disgusted with these sentiments of A'bdullah, henceforth took no more notice of him. When a few days had elapsed in this manner, A'bdullah composed a piece of poetry about O'thmân, his having been killed by the sword of injustice, and this contained also the names of a number of men who had striven to encompass the death of O'thmân. The verses having been brought to the notice of Moa'wiah, he was pleased, called him, apologized to him, and held him in great esteem until he was killed in the battle of Ssafyn.

At this time Moa'wiah consulted A'mru B. A'ass whether it would not be advisable to write a letter to the inhabitants of Madinah, inviting them to follow him; but A'mru replied: 'That would be of no use, because those people are divided into three factions, one of which boasts of its adherence to A'li B. Abu Ttâleb, and will for the sake of thy message not abandon that great beatitude, but will more intensely adhere to him and reject thee; the other faction consists of the friends of O'thmân, which is extremely weak and helpless, so that its love or enmity is of no account in the affairs of this world; and the third faction has chosen solitude, aiming only at security and tranquillity of mind; it has bidden farewell to A'li and to O'thmân, knows that neither love for Abu Bakr nor for A'li will improve its livelihood, and it will not be influenced by thy letter; as thou art, however, bent on writing one, send it, and if no profit results therefrom neither will loss ensue.' After holding a consultation on the subject. Moa'wiah despatched a letter to the inhabitants of Madinah, the contents of which were as follows: 'I was not in Madinah at the time when the people rebelled and assailed O'thmân, and possess no knowledge of the state of affairs then prevailing; but you must be aware that A'li B. Abu Ttâleb co-operated with the inimical faction in destroying the fabric of the Khalifate, and now the murderers of the Khalifah are his intimate friends. I am the legate of

O'thmân, and mean to avenge his blood by requiring A'li to surrender his murderers, so that I may retaliate upon them without injuring A'li. I shall entrust the election of a Khalifah to a consultative assembly, as O'mar had submitted it to one, it being a lawful ordinance. If A'li fails to send the murderers to me I shall wage war against him. After these preliminary remarks I invite those of you who loved O'thmân to come to Syria, and by no means to be tardy.' When the people of Madinah received this letter of Moa'wiah they imagined that it had been written by the advice of A'mru B. A'ass, and they despatched the following reply: 'Let it be known to A'mru B. A'ass and to Moa'wiah that they have committed a grievous mistake in seeking aid from a distance. What has the affair of the Khalifah to do with words and invitations like these? O Moa'wiah, thou art in reality an escaped convict; and, A'mru B. A'ass, thou art a traitor to the religion! Abstain henceforth from importuning us, and addressing such letters to us.' When Moa'wiah had perused this answer, he said. 'Considering that A'bdullah B. O'mar B. Alkhattâb, and Sa'd B. Abu Woqqâss, and Muhammad B. Moslamah the Anssâri, who were great companions of the apostle of Allah [have not been consulted by us], we have acted wrongly in writing a letter to the vagabonds of Madinah. It will now be proper to send a letter to each of those blessed men who have separated from A'li, and to request them to adhere to us.' It is recorded in several traditions that A'bdullah B. O'mar Alkhattâb had instigated Moa'wiah to write to his brother and to those two honoured men a letter of invitation to follow him. When A'mru B. A'ass had heard of this intention, he said by way of advice: 'Keep clear of this business, because when A'ayshah, Ttolhah and Zobeyr, who are superior to thee, invited their co-operation, they, being disinclined to assent, placed the hands of refusal upon this request, and their feet upon the skirts of retirement and separation, deeming it incumbent on themselves not to side with either of the two parties [*i.e.*, of A'ayshah and of A'li].' Moa'wiah desired to have with him a number of the

companions of his lordship the apostle—u. w. bl.—but the majority of those blessed men had preferred to attach themselves to his sacred lordship A'li the Commander of the Faithful, so that not more than four of them had intercourse with Moa'wiah, namely, Abu Haryrah, and Abu Durdah, and Abu Asâmah Albâhy, and No'mân B. Bashar, the Anssâri.—Moa'wiah, disregarding the advice of A'mru B. A'ass, sent one letter to A'bdullah B. O'mar, another to Sa'd B. Abu Woqqâss, and a third to Muhammad B. Moslamah, the contents of each of them being as follows: 'Your lordships are requested to aid your Musalmân brothers in avenging the blood of O'thmân, and to join the camp, so as to become deserving of eternal reward.' Opposition to A'li the Commander of the Faithful having been attributed, in one of the letters, to the son of O'mar, and his approbation of the insinuation expected, A'bdullah B. O'mar wrote to Moa'wiah in reply: 'Thy letters have arrived, and their contents have become known. I am astonished at thy inviting me to follow thee, to pay thee allegiance, and to wage war against the Mohâjer and Anssâr. It is known for certain that thy seeking to avenge the blood of O'thmân is nought but a pretext for accomplishing thy ambition to attain dignity [and become Khalifah]. If thou thinkest that I will abandon the side of A'li and will be commanded by thee, thou art grievously mistaken, and thy writing that we have chosen opposition to his lordship, and have retired to our houses, is another mistake. Allah forbid that I should ever oppose A'li and be at enmity with him. Be it known to thee, O Moa'wiah, that although I refrain from partaking in strife and war with Musalmâns, I am mentally with A'li; and if I give my aid to anyone, he is more worthy of it than thyself, his authority in Islâm being more great, and his dignity in the world more exalted than thine; his position with Allah the Most High is more secure, his worthiness to be Khalifah more patent, his striving to elevate the banners of the religion more evident, and his relationship to the prophet the closest of all. He excels all the companions of his lordship the apostle in

virtues; he is his cousin and the husband of his daughter. He will be the best of youths in paradise, and his character is the purest. No one prospered who attacked him, and no one who opposed him enjoyed security. As I was unwilling to draw the sword against my own tribe, I remained sitting in my house, and as it is against my nature to fight Musalmâns, I closed my door. How can I, being more excellent than thyself, pay allegiance to thee? and my father as well as my mother are more noble than thy parents. I have now transformed my house into a chapel for worshipping God the Most High and Glorious, till I join the proximity of His mercy. Would that I could live in a place where I could witness neither the dissensions nor the treachery of my contemporaries!

> 'The world being faithless, happy are the fawns of the desert
> Who have made their resting place in solitude.'

It is recorded in some books that, at the end of his life, A'bdullah B. O'mar had said: 'I have never regretted anything so much as my failing to do three acts, namely: to pay homage to A'li B. Abu Ttâleb, to wage war against his opponents, and to fast when the weather was hot.'—In the 'Mostaqassa,' a tradition of Abu Dhar Ghuffâry is reported to the effect that the apostle of Allah had said: 'Who opposes the accession of A'li to the Khalifate is to be attacked by you, no matter who he may be; you must kill him.'—As to Sa'd B. Abu Woqqâss, he wrote the following reply to Moa'wiah: 'I have perused thy letter, and learnt to what a futile behaviour thou invitest me. Thou hast stated that O'thmân has been unjustly killed; be, however, aware that the Lord of both worlds is the wisest Judge, and the best Separator of truth from falsehood. I swear by God that I shall never wage war against A'li B. Abu Ttâleb. I do not assent to thy opposition to A'li, and I have, for fear of the disturbance which has arisen among the adherents of Islâm, preferred to retire and to sit alone in my house.' Moa'wiah had, in his letter to Sa'd B. Abu Woqqâss, also written: 'Ttolhah and Zobeyr, who were thy equals in genealogy, and like thee in Islâm, rose to avenge

the blood of O'thmân, and A'ayshah co-operated with them, therefore thou must approve of what they approved of.' Sa'd wrote in reply: 'If Zobeyr and Ttolhah had not broken faith with A'li B. Abu Ttâleb, it would have been better for them, and if they had not waged war against him it would have been more becoming to their position: may God the Most High and Glorious pardon them, and may the most merciful Lord pass over what the mother of the faithful has done! Farewell.' As to Muhammad B. Moslamah, his reply to Moa'wiah was this: 'I am certain that thy purpose in undertaking this business was to attain supreme power, and not to wreak vengeance on those who had a hand in the murder of O'thmân. Be informed that I shall never prefer thy side to that of A'li, and that I shall not oppose him to please thee.' Moa'wiah had, in his letter to Muhammad B. Moslamah, inserted the following accusation: 'Thou hast thought proper to delay repelling the assailants at the time of the insurrection, and hast kept aloof till O'thmân perished ignominiously.' Therefore Muhammad B. Moslamah wrote the following rejoinder: 'Moa'wiah, when I perceived that disturbances were arising during the Khalifate of O'thmân, I was not able to quell them, and the authority of persons like myself being of no account, I broke my sword, sat down in a corner, and was joined by a number of the friends of the Musttafa—u. w. bl.—because they also knew that their efforts would be of no avail in settling any affair of this kind; moreover, the prophet—u. w. bl.—had informed me of the catastrophe which would befall O'thmân, and this is the excuse for our remissness to succour him. It is wonderful that thou takest no blame upon thyself in this matter, since O'thmân had, at the time when he was greatly perplexed and closely besieged by the insurgents, sent courier after courier to Syria expecting thy aid, which thou hast delayed and failed to afford, in spite of thy ability to do so, because thy desire was to augment thy own power and authority. Thou hast utterly disregarded thy obligations towards him, and allowed his foes to vanquish him, that thou mightest

realize thy own aspirations. Now thou desirest, under the pretext of avenging the blood of O'thmân, to place the crown of dominion upon thy head, and the ring of government on thy finger.'

When the answers of the honoured companions had reached Moa'wiah, he perused them, and A'mru B. A'ass blamed him, then he said: 'The right was on thy side when thou hast advised me not to write any letters to them; now, however, we must make preparations for hostilities, because we cannot expect any help from these men.' On this occasion, Moa'wiah ordered the population to assemble in the cathedral mosque of Damascus, and when it had congregated he mounted the pulpit, offered laudations to the Most High, salutations to his lordship the Musstafa—u. w. bl.—and said: 'It is evident to the denizens of the world that O'thmân has been unjustly slain, but God the Most High and Glorious will grant victory to his heir, as He said in His revelation: "*Whosoever shall be slain unjustly we have given his heir power*" [to demand satisfaction].[81] But I am the heir of O'thmân, and he, being the successor of O'mar, had vouchsafed to bestow on me the governorship of Syria, and had not removed me from my post. The people who agree with me are walking in the path of rectitude and right direction, and whoever opposes me is a transgressor and rebel. Those insurgents who slew the Khalifah of the period, and, abandoning him, failed to succour him. At present A'li B. Abu Ttâleb, whom I hate more than anyone in the world, is sitting on the couch of the Khalifate, and making the murderers of O'thmân his intimate friends and courtiers. He has collected an army, is stirring up disturbances, and is marching to wage war against me. I cannot maintain order in the province of Syria without your being loyal and obedient to me. The people of E'râq are more brave in combat than the Syrians, but I am delighted that you are superior to them in patience and firmness. Now, take hold of the jugular vein of forbearance, "*for Allah is with*

[81] Qurân, ch. xvii, part of ver. 35.

the patient."[82] On this occasion Abu-l-a'ur Salymy said: 'Moa'wiah, I swear by God that thou canst never do to A'li what he will do to thee, and thou canst not excel in the battlefield like him. We shall, nevertheless, not abandon thee if thou refusest to fight; on the contrary, we incite thee to fight the murderers of O'thmân because our allegiance is still due to him. He was killed by the sword of injustice, thou art his heir and cousin, whilst A'li bore enmity to him, and failing to aid him to ward off his enemies, had abandoned his side. If thou wilt permit, we shall do our best in waging war.' When Abu-l-a'ur had done speaking, Dhu-l-Kalâgh the Hemyarite said: 'Moa'wiah, listen to my true words: Although O'thmân had bestowed on thee the governorship of Syria and had exalted thee, thou hast paid no attention to his words and hast afforded him no aid when he was in distress and asked for it. In this behaviour thy aim was that the people should stand in need of thee, have recourse to thee in their affairs, and knock at the door of thy high castle for the solution of their difficulties. Now thou hast attained thy object, and found what thou hast sought. Although thy failing to succour O'thmân was improper, it will now be proper to avenge his blood. Though perchance all the Arab tribes may oppose thee, we shall, with our relatives and confederates, gird our loins of service and exert ourselves to the utmost, until this affair is settled to thy heart's content.' After Dhu-l-Kalâgh another Hemyarite continued: 'O ye people of Syria, there is no one among you who prefers the approbation of the Creator to the approbation of men, and would speak on this subject purely for gaining the approbation of Allah. There is no doubt that A'li B. Abu Ttâleb is—on account of his relationship to his lordship the refuge of the apostolate—u. w. bl—on account of his character, his person, his noble exile, his daring in battle, and his heroic exploits which would take long to enumerate—the most deserving of the Khalifate and Emâmship. If he attains supremacy in this

[82] Qur'an, ch. ii, end of ver. 148.

province the wishes of everyone will be fulfilled. I am not ashamed to utter these words, because they are perfectly true and proper, "*for Allah is not ashamed of the truth.*"'[53] When Moa'wiah heard these words he ordered him to be taken and to be hanged by the neck; as, however, several interceded for him, this man was not punished; afterwards, however, he found an opportunity and escaped to Kûfah, where he narrated the transactions of this assembly of Moa'wiah to his sacred lordship A'li the Commander of the Faithful. It is related that Moa'wiah again addressed that assembly as follows: 'I desire you to tell me why A'li B. Abu Ttâleb is more worthy and deserving than myself, and in what virtue he excels me? The apostle—u. w. bl.—had appointed me to register the legal alms; my sister is enrolled among the number of the *pure spouses of his lordship*; I was a lieutenant and governor during the reigns of O'mar and O'thmân in Syria; my father is Abu Sofiân B. Harb, and my mother Hind is the daughter of O'tbah B. Rabya'h. If the notables of Erâq and of the Hejâz have paid allegiance to A'li, the people of Syria have paid it to me, and there is not much difference between him and me. If two men strive for one thing, it will belong to him who vanquishes.' When he had terminated this speech he wrote a letter to the following effect and sent it to Kûfah: 'But after [the preliminary greeting], O A'li, if thy behaviour had been like that of the preceding Khalifahs, and if thy life had been in conformity with theirs, I would have followed and not opposed thee, but the wrong thou hast done to O'thmân impeded me from paying homage to thee. As the chiefs of the Hejâz had in former times adhered to sincerity and truth in the affairs of the Khalifate and the government, the keys of regulating the administration remained permanently and worthily under their authority; as they have, however, now swerved from the right way and are walking on the path of intrigue and folly, the important duty of assuming supremacy has devolved on the chiefs of Syria,

[53] Qurân, ch. xxxiii., middle of ver. 53.

so that they are engaged in administering the ordinances of the religion and strengthening the edifice of the [sacred] law of the prince of apostles. The argument which thou hast brought forward against Ttolhah and Zobeyr thou canst not use against me, because those two men had paid allegiance to thee, but the case was the contrary with me, although no adherent of Islâm can deny thy knowledge of, and thy consanguinity with, the apostle of Allah, and this is all I have to say.' When his lordship A'li the Commander of the Faithful had perused this letter, he sent the following reply: 'But after [the preliminary salutation, I state that] I have received the letter of a man who has gone astray in the desert of aberration, and is drowned in the ocean of lust! He has neither a guide to show him the way, nor a leader who might rescue him from the sea of lust. His passions have beguiled him, he has responded to them, and the hand of greediness has sewn up his eyes, in spite of the wrong which is on his, and the right which is on our side. O Moa'wiah, thou hast written that the wrong I had committed in the times of O'thmân hindered thee from paying me allegiance, but this allegation is unjust, because when that catastrophe occurred I had no work nor occupation, and possessed neither a male nor a female camel, but I was one of the Mohâjer [i.e., exiles], and acting in all circumstances with them. It is patent to all adherents of Islâm that those meek, truthful, and kind men would never embroil themselves in an affair portending aberration and tending to extremities. As to the distinction which thou hast made between thy case and that of Ttolhah and Zobeyr, it is futile, because when those who had been present at Bedr, the Mohâjer and the Anssâr have paid allegiance to a man [i.e., to me], it becomes incumbent on all men to do so. Thou acknowledgest my relationship to the apostle of Allah, but if thou hadst been able thou wouldst have robbed me of that noble privilege.' After these letters several more passed between A'li the Commander of the Faithful and Moa'wiah, but to avoid prolixity only two more of them are here subjoined:

Moa'wiah sends a Letter to the Shâh of Men and Lion of God, A'li B. Abu Ttâleb—p. o. h.—and receives an Answer by the Aid of Allah—who be sanctified and exalted.

'But after [the usual preliminary, I say that,] having done thy utmost in riding the horse of aberration, thou art running on the plain of extremes, but shunning the field of battle and contest. In menaces and threats thou art like a roaring lion, but art a runaway fox in hostilities; in writing letters thou art full of boasting, but remiss and dilatory in time of war. If thou wilt leave off these tricks and venture into the lines of battle, thou wilt see men of sincere aspirations and true intentions, able to prostrate elephants, to contend with roaring lions, and skilled enough with the lance to pick off the mole from the countenance of the moon. If the mercy of God is withheld from thee, and thou persistest to such an extent in darkness and injustice that the vicissitudes of time drive thee into the battlefield, and thou beholdest my just-mentioned champions drawn out in battle-array, thou wilt be overtaken by the chastisement due to thy acts, so that thy life will come to an end, and the denizens of the world will be delivered of thy arrogance.' When A'li the Commander of the Faithful—p. o. h.—had perused this distasteful letter of Moa'wiah, he sent him the following reply: 'From the servant of Allah, the Commander of the Faithful, to Moa'wiah, the son of Ssakhrâ! But after [this preliminary, I say that] I am astonished at the futile, vain, and ridiculous allegations thou hast written in detail and sent. I have taken the measure of thy intellect, am acquainted with thy capacity, and know how disastrous thy end will be. In conformity with the saying that "affairs depend upon their times," the fight between me and thee will take place at a season for which I look, but thou abhorrest. Now I expect with the eye of certainty the time when I shall see the champions enter the battlefield, and I shall so work with my Dhu-l-fiqâr that thou wilt groan like a

camel under a heavy load. O son of her who was eating livers,[54] I mean to say that when thou standest in the battle thy voice of lamentation will strike my ear, thou wilt implore me and say to me: "How long will these straight arrows, curved swords, flying javelins, and cutting scimitars be wounding and slaying us?" Confused by the dreadful onslaughts of the warriors, thou wilt take hold of the skirt of supplication and run to and fro in thy distress. This fate will befall you, it having been predestined in the Preserved Table and established according to the Divine volume; but you disbelieve it, and place no faith therein. Peace be unto him who follows the true guidance.' When this letter arrived in Syria, and Moa'wiah with A'mru B. A'ass had perused it, the latter said: 'How long wilt thou write hard and bitter words to A'li, who will reply to thee even in more angry terms? By God! if all the writers of Syria were to combine, they would be unable to vie with his eloquence and oratory. Advance if thou desirest war, but negotiate if thou art inclined for peace, because A'li himself means nothing more than this. It is at any rate certain that this correspondence and exchange of messages will only result in vexations, and not in the settlement of difficulties.' These opinions of A'mru B. A'ass having been approved of by Moa'wiah, he ceased writing letters, and ordered his troops to be in readiness.

His Sacred Lordship A'li the Commander of the Faithful — U. W. P. — and Moa'wiah march to Ssafyn, and Account of some Events which took place.

When it became evident to the world-adorning mind of the Khalifah of the period that the ardour of the dark-hearted people of Syria could not be appeased except by the bright scimitars of blood-drinking warriors, and that

[54] This is an allusion to Hind, the mother of Moa'wiah, who chewed the liver of Hamzah after he had fallen in the battle of Ohod. The account of this was given in the 'Life of Muhammad.' See Part II., vol. i., p. 397, of this work.

the enmity and hostility of Moa'wiah B. Abu Sofiân could not be put an end to except by using the sword and the lance, he despatched couriers into all parts of the country, ordering all valiant and bold men to hasten to the threshold of the Khalifate and court of Emâmship. Thus numbers of troops assembled in a short time in the district of Kûfah, the like of which had seldom congregated in past ages. It being the intention of A'li the Commander of the Faithful to attack the professors of schism and enmity, he mounted the pulpit after the Friday prayers, praised the Omnipotent Sovereign, addressed greetings to the prophet, and poured forth limpid streams of admonition and advice to irrigate the gardens of the hopes of sincere believers When he had finished his brilliant sermon, the like of which the best orators of the bright religion confessed their inability to produce, he addressed the nobles and prominent men who were present in the cathedral mosque as follows 'O men, set your minds on the annihilation and extirpation of the rebels and enemies, and hasten to wage war against them, because they are the foes of religious ordinances and of the Qurân, they are the slayers of Mohâjer and Anssar, the assassins of good and of righteous men Some of them have professed Islâm from fear, and some to gain worldly advantages; some possess very little knowledge of the religion, and some none at all' On this occasion a man of the Bani Qorârah, Azyd by name, turned towards the Amir of the Faithful, and said 'O A'li, thou desirest us to wage war against the people of Syria, who are our brothers in Islâm, in the same way as we have fought with the troops of Bossrah and the mother of the faithful, I swear by God that we shall never do such a thing' Incensed at the words of Azyd, Mâlek Ashtar impatiently said: 'Take hold of this man, for what he has said is bad.' Azyd then ran away from the mosque, but was pursued, and struck down with blows of sandals in such a manner that he died on the spot, but as it could not be ascertained who had killed him, A'li the Commander of the Faithful paid the blood-ransom to his heirs from the public treasury. After Azyd

had been slain, Mâlek Ashtar spoke in the same meeting as follows: 'O Amir of the Faithful, think not that we shall, on account of these foolish words which have reached thy noble audition, take off our hands from the skirt of loyalty to thee, and incur the blame of tardiness in serving and aiding thee, because the people here assembled, whom thou hast honoured with thy regard and favour, are thy well-wishers, and do not consider it permissible to abandon thv heaven-aspiring retinue, and they do not wish to live one moment after thy death, which God forbid. We must proceed to extirpate the foes with pure intentions and a firm determination to do our utmost to annihilate them.' After the notables of the government and the buttresses of the religion, such as A'mmâr B. Yâser, and Sohayl B. Hanyf, and Qays B. Sa'd, and A'dy B. Hâtim Ttây, and many others whose names are registered in works of biography and of campaigns, had corroborated the declaration of Mâlek, and professed their eagerness to combat the foes of the victorious government, the representatives of the tribes who were present in that assembly accepted the invitation of his sacred lordship the Commander of the Faithful, excepting only a small party of the companions of A'bdullah B. Masu'd and the readers of the words of the affectionate Sovereign,[85] who said: 'O Emâm of the Musalmâns, although we admit thy perfect and laudable qualities, we cannot see how we might wage war against our tribesmen, if thou orderest us to guard some frontiers of Islâm, and allowest us to fight unbelievers, it will be a great favour.' His lordship assented to their request, ordered them to march in the direction of Qazwyn and Ray; and having tied a flag for those men, appointed Rabyi' B. Khusha'm to be their commander. On this occasion it reached the most noble audition of the Shah of the Vicariate that a number of leaders of the troops, such as Hajar B. A'dy and Muhammad B. Alhamy, had lengthened their tongues with reprobations and curses against Moa'wiah: but this information displeased his august nature, and he

[85] Qurân-readers are meant.

prohibited them from using such language, but they replied: 'The right is on our side, and Moa'wiah with his adherents being wrong, why should we be hindered [to curse him]?' His lordship replied: 'I swear by the Lord of the Ka'bah that the case is such; I do not want you, however, to curse and swear, but you must raise your hands in prayer, and say: "O God, spare their blood, and vouchsafe to bring on peace between them and us. Guide those who are walking on the path of error to the straight road. Change their folly and ignorance into knowledge, and convey those, who are thirsting in the desert of hostility, to the fountain-head of grace."'

The U'lamâ who wrote histories have recorded that when the magnates of the country had determined to march to Syria, his sacred lordship A'li the Commander of the Faithful issued orders for a proclamation to the troops to assemble in the locality of Nakhylah, commanding Habyb Alyarbuu'y, who was the quartermaster-general of the army, to assign a suitable place to each of the chiefs, appointing Abu Masu'd, the Ansâry, to be his own lieutenant in Kûfah. Then he started himself with the magnates of Kûfah and some of the great companions of the apostle of Allah to Nakhylah, where he remained several days, till he was joined by Ebn A'bbâs and the troops from Bossrah, and according to one tradition, ninety thousand warriors tried in battle assembled under the victory-boding standards of the Amir of the Faithful. It is related that on this occasion eighty men who had been present at Bedr, and eight hundred of those blessed individuals who attended on his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. bl.—when he marched to Mekkah, and had attained felicity by paying him allegiance under the tree at Hodaybiah, were enrolled among the companions of A'li the Commander of the Faithful.—It is known to be true that, when the Emâm of the pious A'li B. Abu Ttâleb marched to Saafyn, Awys Qarn, whom it is not necessary to make known, sought the company of his lordship and considered it a great blessing, and also the Lion of Allah, being much pleased with his

arrival, showed him much respect and honour, listening during that march to the blessed utterances of Awys, who on his part likewise greatly profited by learning from him the arcana of science, until he departed to paradise from the wounds which he had received from the enemies in the battle of Ssafyn—may Allah have mercy on him.

In short, Ali the Commander of the Faithful marched with his army in good order from Nakhylah. When the time for the anterior prayers had arrived, he alighted at a mosque which was on the road, and held short orisons, whereon he continued to march on the wings of celerity till he arrived at the convent of Abu Mûsa, and having recited the afternoon prayers on the bank of the Euphrates, departed. He held the sunset prayers at Madâin-Sâbâtt where also the troops allied to victory encamped, and the landholders of the place arrived with gifts, which were, however, not accepted. After having spent the night there, he marched again till he entered the metropolis of Kesra Naushirwân, from which he continued his march from stage to stage till he arrived on the frontiers of Jazirah Arab, at a monastery which had a steeple on the top of it, and was inhabited by one monk. His lordship halted there and shouted to the monk, who, having heard the dreadful voice, made his appearance on the top of his cell. He was a lean man of sallow complexion, dressed in black, and A'li the Amir of the Faithful asked him: 'Hast thou any water, for my people are thirsty?' The monk replied: 'Wait a moment, and I shall bring a bucket of sweet water.' The Amir continued: 'That quantity of water will not suffice.' The monk said: 'I shall bring water enough for twenty persons.' The Amir of the Musalmâns continued: 'I have a great multitude with me.' The monk replied: 'I have three vessels full of water, all of which I shall present to you, pouring out at your feet whatever I possess.' The Amir of the Faithful continued: 'O monk, near this steeple there is a spring, of which six men of the sons of Israel drank water; that fountain is, however, not visible at present, but concealed, like the

Water of Life.'[86] The monk having heard these words, came down from the roof and said: 'I have a tradition from my father, which he had from his, that there is a concealed spring in this place, which no one can open except the prophet or his legatee, namely, his lordship the Amir.' The Commander of the Faithful replied: 'I shall discover this spring if it pleaseth Allah the Most High.' The monk asked: 'What is thy name?' He replied: 'A'li, the son of Abu Ttâleb.' The monk continued. 'I possess a writing of my father, wherein the name of the prophet of latter times, and the name of him who will discover this fountain, is written; and if this problem is solved by thy efforts, I shall make my profession of Islâm at thy hands.' Then the Amir of the Faithful walked to the east side, and drew a circle of about twenty cubits in circumference, the interior of which he ordered to be dug up. When the people had begun excavating, they found a big stone, which the strongest of them were unable to move from its place. The Amir of the Faithful hereon said: 'If God—who be exalted and glorified—is willing, I shall remove this stone from the spring.' The monk asked: 'How canst thou undertake such a task, since a number of strong men doing their best were unable to move the stone?' A'li the Commander of the Faithful said 'O monk, one day I was walking with the apostle of Allah, when the eye of that prince suddenly alighted on some Qoraish chiefs who were unable to move a stone by their combined efforts. The apostle then addressed them as follows: "You imagine that this is strength, whereas that is strength which when you are overpowered by anger enables you to subdue it." After that he mounted to the top of the hill Abu Qabys, and rolled down a big stone. When that stone remained fixed on the ground, he asked with his wonderfully eloquent tongue: "Who will lift up

[86] Also called 'Water of Immortality.' The prophet Khiser having discovered this fountain, and drank thereof, became immortal. About his meeting with Moses, see Qurân, ch. xviii., and Part I., vol. i., pp. 373-377, of this work.

this stone?" They replied: "No one is strong enough to do it." The apostle of Allah continued: "Let all of you rise [and try], except my uncles Hamzah and Abbâs and my cousin A'li." The accursed Abu Jahl laughed at these words, and asked: "Who is this child, that thou hast not reckoned him among thy uncles?" When the prophet—u. w. bl.—had observed the sneering of Abu Jahl, he said: "I know something which you do not know;" and continued: "O A'li, utter the words, 'Lâ haul wa lâ quwat,'[87] and raise the stone." I spoke these words and lifted the stone in the easiest manner." O monk, we are the keepers of Divine treasures and heirs of celestial revelations.' Having said these words, Ali the Commander of the Faithful placed his breast against the stone, made an effort, and having lifted the stone in spite of its size, threw it to a distance, whereon pure wholesome water gushed, and the soldiers as well as the cattle having quenched their thirst, the faith of the people in the Vicariate of his lordship increased on account of that miracle. After the monk had seen what took place, he donned the garment of Islâm, and asked permission to show the writing which had descended to him from his ancestors to his lordship. That document, which was in the Syriac language and has been translated, bore the following information: 'Shima'ûn has a tradition that the Messiah—p. o. h.—said: "After me God the Most High, who is to be praised, will send a prophet who is to be the seal [*i.e.*, the last] of the prophets and apostles. He will be kind and never harsh; will not raise his voice in public thoroughfares, will not requite evil, but pardon it, and pass over it in mercy. His people will be secretly and openly engaged in praise of the Lord—who be blessed and exalted. When he departs from this perishable world, his adherents will, after contending, again harmonize with each other. Some time afterwards, hostilities will a second time

[87] 'There is no power or strength.' These words are generally uttered by Moslems when any extraordinary event or calamity takes place: 'There is no power or strength except by [the will of] Allah the Most High.'

arise among them, and an individual of his nation will pass near the shores of this sea with people from the east, with the intention of attacking the people of the west. That individual will resemble the said prophet—u. w. bl.—in form and character more than any other person. That individual will judge according to truth and righteousness; he will abstain from intrigues and bribery in the transaction of affairs, and will consider the accumulation of wealth more despicable than that of rubbish. Death will be more acceptable and easier to him than water flowing into a thirsty throat. He will fear God secretly and openly, deal equitably and justly, and let everyone living in his time obey him, because who pleases him will also gain the approbation of the Lord Most High, and blessed is he who will live to see him."' After his sacred lordship Ali the Commander of the Faithful had obtained cognizance of this document, he opened his propitious mouth in laudations to the Self-existent,[88] and said: 'How shall I render thanks for this favour, that I am in His sight one of the recorded, and not of the excluded?' The monk said: 'O Amir of the Faithful, I shall never leave thy service and shall attend on thy heaven-aspiring stirrup all my life in prosperity or calamity, despite any trouble or injury which may befall me in this world.' Hâbybat Alghurby states that this youth remained with the Amir of the Faithful until he attained martyrdom in the battle of Saafyn, where his lordship held general funeral prayers over his corpse, and said: 'He is one of my family.'

It is recorded in certain histories that when A'li the Amir of the Faithful departed from Madâin he left Sa'd B. Masu'd, who was the uncle of Mukhtâr B. Abu O'baydah Thaqfy, in charge of that locality, and sent Moa'qal B. Qays with three thousand cavalry towards Maussul, ordering him to join his lordship at Raqqah, while he himself marched [directly] to that town; the people of which, however, who were the well-wishers of O'thmân and adherents of Moa'wiah, openly manifested enmity, and

[88] Or whose existence is necessary, i.e., God

refused to construct a bridge across the Euphrates which they had been ordered to make for the army to cross the river, whereon the Amir of the Faithful went to another ferry. Mâlek Ashtar then threatened the inhabitants of Raqqah, saying: 'If you disobey the order of the Khalifah of the period to which obedience is due, I shall cause the sharp sabre and blood-shedding scimitar to be your judge, shall take possession of your children and property, ravaging and devastating your country.' This menace caused the people of Raqqah to tremble in all their limbs, so that, placing their heads upon the line of submission, they constructed a bridge over the Euphrates, whereon A'li the Commander of the Faithful returned and crossed the river by means of that bridge with his victory-allied army.

Some chroniclers state that when Moa'wiah received the news that A'li the Commander of the Faithful had crossed the bridge at Raqqah, he convoked the officers of his army and addressed them as follows: 'Be it known unto you, that the lion of the army, and incomparable warrior, A'li B. Abu Ttâleb, has, with the champions of E'râq, the troopers of the Hejâz, the braves of Kûfah, the strife-seeking men of Bossrah, the Anssâri lancers and valiant swordsmen, marched forth and is bent on destroying you. He has also brought with him every one whom he considered to possess some valour and boldness. If the vagabond Arab tribes, greedy to plunder and to devastate Syria, also join his army, it is certain that they will be ready to wage war against you. If you are inclined to fight, you must take firm hold of the handle of patience in order to gain the victory.' After Moa'wiah B. Abu Sofiân had spoken these words, Merwân B. Alhukum and Dhu-l-kalâgh, the Hemyarite, and Hausheb Dhi Ttelym, and Abu-l-a'wr Salmy, with all the officers, willingly and gladly exclaimed: 'We shall fight in attendance on thee, and sacrifice our lives, doing our utmost to wreak vengeance on the enemies of O'thmân. Not only ourselves, but the whole population of Syria, the simple and the gentle, are waiting for thy orders, to which obedience is due.' On that occasion the informa-

tion arrived that A'li the Commander of the Faithful had cast his anchor of permanency on the bank of the river Euphrates, opposite to the town of Raqqah, making that locality the camp of his army. This information excited the ardour of Moa'wiah, and he ordered Abu-l-a'ur to march in that direction with numerous troops, so as to gain some advantage when an opportunity presented itself. When A'li Murtadza had been informed of the approach of Abu-l-a'ur, he despatched Zyâd B. Nassar and Sharykh B. Hâny, with a portion of the army, to attack those ill-starred men. Zyâd and Sharykh obeyed orders, marched, reached the vicinity of the camp of Abu-l-a'ur, and having ascertained that his troops were numerous, they halted in the place they were in, and asked the Amir of the Faithful for reinforcements. When the ray of this news had touched the front of his lordship's luminous mind, he knew that none of the Amirs and notables of the army would go to their assistance except Mâlek Ashtar, therefore he said to him: 'Zyâd and Sharykh have sent a courier with the message: "Abu-l-a'ur has girded his loins for war with a large army, imposing like the revolving sphere, and is ready to fight; we, however, apprehending that the Evil Eye* might affect us, have delayed hostilities until we are reinforced by a trustworthy and brave company of warriors." Now, O Mâlek, the aversion of a catastrophe depends upon thy far-seeing discernment and strong arm! Thou must quickly march to aid and reinforce them with thy friends according to thy disposition, but do not forestall the enemy in the conflict; if, however, thou perceivest them to be bent thereon, thou art first to give them salutary advice and invite them to pay me allegiance. If they accept thy proposal, so much the better; in the contrary case, however, thou must implore aid at the Court of Monotheism in thy conflict with the partisans of schism and opposition, and must, trusting in Divine favour, do thy utmost to annihilate them. Inform me of the results of the battle which will

* See 'The Evil Eye,' etc., Journ. Bombay Br. Roy. As. Soc., vol. x., 1874. By E. Rehatsek.

take place, and shouldst thou stand in need of assistance, fail not to let me know it without delay, because we shall not hold ourselves excused from promoting thy interests and fulfilling thy hopes.' Mâlek Ashtar having cheerfully accepted the instructions of the Shâh and refuge of the Vicariate, marched with a number of brave men, and never halted in any place till he reached the vicinity of the enemy's camp.

Some of the U'lamâ of histories have recorded that A'bdullah B. Abbâs, having left Abu-l-aswad Dylamy as his lieutenant in Bossrah, joined A'li the Commander of the Faithful at Nakhlah [*supra* Nakhylah] with the troops of that district. Then his lordship ordered Zyâd B. Nassar and Sharykh B. Hâny, each in command of six thousand cavalry, to march in advance of the victory-allied army to Syria. The said two officers of high dignity departed from Nakhlah in conformity to the orders to which obedience was due, and sent, on the third day after their departure, information to the troops, that the next day A'li the Amir of the Faithful would follow, marching after this vanguard, and that no man was to lag behind. On the fourth day the drum of departure was struck, and the [main body of the] army started from Nakhlah, and when it had reached the neighbourhood of the city of Bâbel [Babylon], A'li the Commander of the Faithful said: 'This is a town which has many times been by turns populated and deserted; you must quickly impel your quadrupeds, so that we may hold our second prayers outside this locality.' Accordingly the people marched in haste, and alighting from their beasts, after passing through Bâbel, held their afternoon prayers under the leadership of the Emâm of the Musalmâns. Then they started again, and, passing the monastery of Ka'b, halted in Sâbâtt-Madâin, where they spent the night. The next day A'li the Commander of the Faithful mounted, and eighty thousand cavalry started with him besides camp-followers and servants. When Madâin had become the camping-ground of the victory-boding army, he ordered Moa'qal B. Qays to march to Nassibyn by way of Maussul,

and to join his lordship at Raqqah, as has already been recorded above. When Moa'qal had reached the vicinity of Maussul, which was at that time very populous, he beheld two companies fighting, but neither of them inclined to give way till an individual arrived who separated them. A man of the Bani Khusha'm, who was with Moa'qal and had witnessed this scene, said: 'In this march we shall conquer and not be conquered.' Moa'qal replied: 'May the end be prosperous! thy omen will be fulfilled if it pleaseth Allah the Most High.' But when it reached the most noble audition of the Amir of the Faithful what the Khusha'my had said, he reproved him.

When the exalted banners, which are the signs of victory, had passed across the Euphrates, the noble order was issued to Zyâd B Nassar and Sharykh B. Hâny to march in the vanguard, whereon they, hastening their march, encountered Abu-l-a'ur in a place called Sûd'am, but refrained from hostilities, and sent information to A'li the Commander of the Faithful that the enemies were extremely numerous. His lordship then appointed Mâlek Ashtar to the command of a force of three thousand men to fight Abu-l-a'ur, and sent after him Hâshem B. O'tbah B. Abu Woqqâss. When Mâlek Ashtar had joined Zyâd and Sharykh, he remained quiet and dignified, sending, according to the command of the Amir of the Faithful, a letter to Abu-l-a'ur, inviting him to pay allegiance. The bearer of the letter was Abu Najdah Alarzâny, who enjoyed great honour and respect with his sacred lordship the Amir of the Faithful and lion of God, on account of his asceticism, piety, and scorn of mundane wealth. A certain individual named Dâud states: 'At the time when I was in the vanguard of the army of Abu-l-a'ur, I perceived Abu Najdah suddenly making his appearance, and imagined him to be an Arab vagabond; I therefore intercepted his way, desiring to joke with him. When Abu Najdah perceived my intention, he said: "O ye brothers of Satans, it was not enough for you to obstruct the way of the religion to those who have attained certainty, and you must forsooth now bar the

road to all Musalmâns." I replied: "The way is broad." He continued: "There is an opening in Hind [*i.e.*, India] and in Sind; why do you not obstruct the way of unbelievers?" I asked: "Who art thou, and what is thy intention?" He replied: "I am the envoy of Mâlek Ashtar, who commands the army of the Amir of the Faithful."' Dâud continues: 'When I learnt who he was, I showed him the way, and he reached the camp of the army.' There is a tradition of Abu Najdah that he said: 'When I had come near the tent of Abu-l-a'ur, I saw two drunken men issuing from it; I saw also a carpet close thereto, and drove my horse on to it, whereon some persons exclaimed: "O mannerless fellow, alight!" I replied: "Humility towards profligates is not permitted." When I entered the assembly of Abu-l-a'ur I forbore to salute him, but said: "O Abu-l-a'ur, thou, with thy companions, enjoyest forbidden things, and I have seen some of them coming out from thy tent drunk!" Abu-l-a'ur said: "Deliver thy message." Then I gave him the letter of Mâlek with some advice, which was rejected; he wrote, however, a reply, praising Moa'wiah and the Bani Ommyah, which he handed to me, and dismissed me. When I reached Mâlek I gave him the letter of Abu-l-a'ur, which he handed to his son, saying: "Take good care of this letter that it may be an argument for me with the Amir of the Faithful." Then he began to draw out his army, placing Zyâd B Nassar in charge of the right, and Sharykh B Hâny of the left wing. Then he ordered the drums to be beaten, and marched forthwith against the enemy. Abu-l-a'ur, on his part, likewise prepared for the contest, and inciting A'bdullah B. Mundhar Alshaukhy, who was a renowned warrior, to attack Mâlek, said to him: "No one can vanquish him except thyself. Make haste to slay Mâlek, because he was the murderer of O'thmân, and by killing him thou wilt rise greatly in the estimation of Moa'wiah." A'bdullah replied: "I am reluctant to come in contact with Mâlek, but if a thousand like him encounter me, I shall vanquish them." Abu-l-a'ur said: "His death will be a great relief

to me." After the solicitations of Abu-l-a'ur had exceeded all bounds, A'bdullah entered the list of combat, and Zyâd B. Nassar wanted to fight a duel with him, but Mâlek prohibited him, and stepped out of the line himself, approached A'bdullah, and asked: "What is thy name?" His opponent replied: "My thrusts and blows will immediately apprise thee thereof." Mâlek continued: "Thou art one of the fools of Syria, and not my peer! Return." Then A'bdullah revealed his personality, whereon Mâlek said: "Thou art a well-known man and a warrior; it is a pity that thou hast gone astray in the desert of aberration, and hast come out to fight against the legitimate Emâm." A'bdullah asked: "Has not Moa'wiah been engaged during the lifetime of the prince of existences in writing down Divine revelations?" Mâlek replied: "Thou speakest the truth; but one day the apostle of Allah sent for Moa'wiah, who, being lazy, answered that he was just then engaged in eating his food. When this reply of Moa'wiah reached the exalted audition of the best of creatures, he said: 'O Lord, may his stomach not be filled!' Afterwards it happened that Moa'wiah retained the man till he took away the food, but said: 'How long must I eat? for I have got tired.' And he could by no means eat his fill."'—Then Mâlek Ashtar enumerated the virtues and exploits of A'li the Commander of the Faithful, and A'bdullah said: 'O Mâlek, thy words are true and sincere. I have an estate in Syria of the value of two hundred thousand dirhems, as well as a family and children. I shall neither fight with you, nor enter the battlefield for Moa'wiah.' Having said these words, A'bdullah returned to his army, and Abu-l-a'ur perceiving this, said to himself: 'I think he has beguiled and sent him back.' Then Abu-l-a'ur sent a Damascus horseman to A'bdullah, to persuade him by flattery to return, whereon he, deceived by the horseman, again rode up to Mâlek Ashtar, and said: 'Nothing but the sword can put an end to our hostility.' Then Mâlek Ashtar placed his hand on his life-destroying spear, and the two warriors fought till they became exhausted. Then they stuck their

lances into the ground, rested awhile, and again renewed the combat; at last, however, Mâlek so pierced the breast of A'bdullah with his lance that it came out at the back. Mâlek then capered about on the battle-ground, challenging Abu-l-a'ur to a duel; the latter, however, sent him O'beydullah B. Mundhar, who was the elder brother of A'bdullah, and Mâlek cut off his forearm with the fingers by one blow of his sword. O'beydullah then hastened back to his line, whereon that courageous hero again challenged Abu-l-a'ur, who sent him Hâtum Almundhar, and he was disabled by Mâlek like his predecessors. Muttraf B. A'bdullah Alqurâry then came out to fight Mâlek, who, having recognised him, said 'Between me and thee there are duties of acquaintance; why failest thou to observe them?' He replied: 'Thou speakest the truth. The duties of companionship and of salt are incumbent on us; and now, abstaining to fight with thee, I shall return.' When, however, Muttraf turned away his face, Mâlek severed his head with one blow of the sword, and throwing it on the battle-ground, exclaimed:

'As thou hast acted ill, be not safe from calamities,
Because nature gives an impulse to revenge'

Afterwards Zyâd B. Nassar asked for an explanation of this behaviour, and Mâlek replied: 'This accursed fellow entered the list on the day of Jamal, and, when he asked for a champion, was met by Qâsum, the nephew of Zaid B. Ssuhân. On that occasion Muttraf said to him: 'Return, because thy father is my friend, and therefore I do not wish to fight with thee.' When Qâsum, desirous to go back, turned his face, that coward slew him with one blow, and now I have repaid him for what he had done to that youth.' After Muttraf had been killed, his nephew Hamzah stepped out to avenge him, but Mâlek wounded him on the head, so that he fell from his horse and died. After Hamzah had been slain, Abu-l-a'ur sent the following message to Mâlek: 'In our camp there are one thousand renowned champions; and if they were one by one to enter the battlefield, the contest would be of long duration; it will,

therefore, be best that the two armies attack each other.' Mâlek, having assented to this proposal, ordered the centre, the right and the left wing to be put in motion, whereon a general battle ensued. During this fight Mâlek said to his friends: 'I should like to see Abu-l-a'ur, to ascertain what kind of a man he is, of whose presence Moa'wiah was boasting so much.' They replied: 'Behold him; there he is on a gray horse, opposite to thee on a hill.' Then Mâlek Ashtar despatched a man, Senân by name, to go and say to Abu-l-a'ur: 'Mâlek tells thee, "Come forward, that we may caper about on the ground using our swords and lances."' Senân asked: 'Shall I invite him to fight a duel with me, or with thee?' Mâlek in his turn queried: 'O Senân, art thou able to cope with him?' He replied: 'I swear by God that if thou orderest me to assail this mountain, which is opposite to us, I shall do it; I fear nothing.' Mâlek then praised Senân, and continued: 'I know thou speakest the truth, but possibly Abu-l-a'ur may tell thee that thou art not his peer, and then thou must tell him that I am challenging him to a duel.' When Senân had delivered the message to Abu-l-a'ur, the latter said: 'In the fulness of his ignorance and stupidity, he has blamed the laudable qualities and exploits of O'thmân, manifested enmity towards him, and by his efforts that persecuted Khalifah was at last deprived of the jewel of dominion and of the cask of his life. There is no doubt that he who has slain the legitimate Khalifah is not my peer, and I shall not fight with a man who is not my equal.' Senân continued: 'Thou hast had thy say; now listen to mine.' Abu-l-a'ur, however, replied: 'What hast thou to do in this matter? Return forthwith, and report what thou hast heard.' Senân went back and told Mâlek, who smiled at his words, and said: 'Fear for his life would not allow Abu-l-a'ur to enter the list. Had he met me, he would not have escaped the grasp of death.' Having been disappointed in his wish to fight with Abu-l-a'ur, Mâlek Ashtar ordered the army to make a general onslaught upon the enemy, whereon a sanguinary battle ensued,

which lasted the whole day; and when the monarch of luminaries was about to conquer the western realms [*i.e.*, at sunset], Abu-l-a'ur was so frightened and dismayed that he retreated under cover of the night, joined Moa'wiah, and said: 'It was proper to meet thee before a rout set in.' Moa'wiah praised him, started in haste, and proceeded, ordering Sofiân B. Am'ru and Abu-l-a'ur to march more quickly than the rest of the army, and to find a suitable camping-ground for it; and after they had reconnoitred the district, they pitched on the plain of Ssafyn, in which there was a locality containing in ancient times high edifices and royal palaces. In that locality there was, however, only one road by which access could be obtained to the Euphrates; and after both [the contending] armies had reached the said locality, a battle was fought for the possession of the road to the water, as shall be narrated if Allah the Most High willeth.

Second Battle between Mâlek Ashtar and Abu-l-a'ur.

When Moa'wiah B. Abu Sofiân had arrived in Ssafyn before A'li the Commander of the Faithful, and had encamped there with his army, he ordered Abu-l-a'ur with ten thousand experienced warriors to guard the passage to the water, and not to allow one of the people of E'râq and companions of the legitimate Khalifah to moisten his throat with a drink of water. Meanwhile, his sacred lordship A'li the Commander of the Faithful halted after his arrival in the locality with the great Mohâjer, Anssâr, and the chiefs of districts and countries in the vicinity of the camp of Moa'wiah. When numbers of servants and camp-followers of the victory-boding army were about to approach the river-bank to bring water to the camp of the army, Abu-l-a'ur, whose skirt was moist but his brains dry, interposed between those people, not allowing them to accomplish their intention. His lordship the Amir of the Faithful, who had witnessed this disgraceful proceeding, despatched

Saa'saa'h B. Suhân A'bdy as an envoy to Moa'wiah, with the following message: 'We have collected an army and arrived from a great distance, in order to settle the affair of the Khalifate, which is one of the important concerns of the religion. It was our intention, first, to advise you, to point out the right road to you, to abstain from hostilities, and not to begin the conflict. Now, however, some of thy soldiers have hindered the people from obtaining access to the water, which the Universal Dispenser has made free and allowed to all His worshippers. It is hoped that thou wilt order them to abstain from so improper a behaviour and to make no difficulties; if, however, thou art inclined for contention, and those men who are drowned in the sea of aberration persevere in their unworthy purpose, there is no doubt that this affair will end in a conflict, wherein the use of the Dhu-l-fiqâr and the movements of bright scimitars will cause torrents of blood to flow in the field of battle. Be it known unto thee for a certainty, O Moa'wiah, that if I had encamped in this locality before you, I would have made no difficulties about the water, and would have kept the meadow of the hopes of friends and foes equally irrigated with the outpourings of Divine abundance.' After Saa'saa'h had delivered his message, Moa'wiah held a consultation with his intimate friends and pillars of his state as to what answer should be sent. He was hesitating whether he ought to place the hand of refusal upon the breast of the wishes of his lordship the receptacle of the Vicariate, or whether he ought to recall Abu-l-a'ur from the path of extreme measures to the right road. Lobeyd B. O'tbah B. Abu Mo'ytt and A'bdullah B. Abu Sarj said [in that consultation]: 'Most of the people who have encamped opposite to us were accomplices in the murder of O'thmân, because at the time when he was besieged, as is known to everybody, they withheld their assistance from him, and it will be proper that at this time when we have the force, power, and inclination, we should distress them by keeping them away from the water, not allowing them to approach it at all, and if A'li Murtadza leaves this spot,

betaking himself to another, where he can easily get water, this very fact will be a kind of flight.' A'mru B. A'ass said: 'O Moa'wiah, do not imagine that A'li will bear thirst, and that his troops will contemplate the water of the Euphrates with dewy [*i.e.*, tearful, longing] eyes, considering that at present the brave cavalry of E'râq and the royal horsemen of the adjacent districts are under his command. Moreover, our objects in marching from Damascus were our love of the Khalifate, and our desire to avenge the blood of the chief of the religion, which have nothing whatever to do with this wrangling about water; and the rest [how to act] is known to thee.' Although A'mru B. A'ass adduced other reasonable arguments, that such a proceeding would only increase the estrangement, they were of no use, and Moa'wiah, who had made prohibition and resistance his motto, said: 'This is the first victory we have gained, and may the Bountiful Dispenser not quench the thirst of Moa'wiah on the day of requital [in paradise] from the lake of the Mussttafa—o. w. p.—if those people obtain a drink of water from the Euphrates without using force and conquering us' It is on record that on this occasion a man of the Azd tribe, who was in the assembly, said: 'O Moa'wiah, thou hast disregarded the laws of philanthropy, and not fulfilled the dictates of justice and equity. If thy antagonists were Turks of the Byzantine country, humanity would require thee first to refresh them with water and bread, and then to fight; but these are men who have been present at Bedr, and have joyfully paid allegiance; noble Mohâjer and Anssâr, and respected followers. Among these men there are sons of the uncles of the prophet of the last times—u. w. bl. O Moa'wiah, fear the wrath of the Avenging Victor! Be on thy guard, and scratch not the countenance of philanthropy with the nail of impudence.' Then, on the other hand, Wolyd B. O'tbah manifested his wickedness, saying: 'It is necessary to keep off the troops of A'li Murtadza from the water, and I entertain hopes that on the day of the resurrection God the Most High will keep them off from enjoying the water

of the lake Kawthar.' But Ssa'ssa'h replied to him: 'The Lord—whose name be blessed and sanctified—will in the next world deprive of water infidels and hypocrites like thee, because thou hast committed sins, drunk wine, gone to the mosque, and hast led the prayers of the Musalmâns in a state of intoxication, making in thy heedlessness four, instead of the two prescribed prayer-flexions, and being about to dismiss the congregation, thou hast said: "O friends, this day I am much pleased and delighted. If you are willing, I shall make several more flexions for you." When O'thmân had obtained cognizance of this wicked act and disgraceful expression, he removed thee from thy post, recalled thee to Madinah, and deprived thee of thy right, but what right hast thou to utter such words? Thou, whom the Divine Majesty—whose name be sanctified—has mentioned in the glorious Qurân and stigmatized as a profligate!' Some members of the assembly of Moa'wiah drew their sabres when they heard these words of Ssa'ssa'h, and wanted to kill him, but Moa'wiah warded them off, saying: 'To injure an ambassador is licit in no religion.' Although Moa'wiah considered it improper to shed the blood of the envoy of the Amir of the Faithful, he girded his loins to shed the blood of his lordship, kept the water off from those blessed men, and had no fear whatever of the wrath of God. In fine, Ssa'ssa'h, having escaped the grasp of death, was allowed to depart, and hastened, dismayed, to wait on the Amir of the Faithful, whom he informed of the refusal and obstinacy of Moa'wiah, which distressed his lordship considerably. Meanwhile, the weaker portion of the victory-allied army was in great tribulation for the want of water, another spot where it could be obtained being two farsakhs distant from the august camp. When Mâlek Ashtar perceived fear prevailing like that of the greatest day,[80] he informed the Amir of the Faithful that the price of water had risen in the camp to three dirhems a bag, and that the people were in great distress, saying: 'I hope thou wilt issue orders permitting us to

[80] Meaning the day of the last judgment.

expel with our bright scimitars the ambitious aspirations from the brains of the vainglorious enemies, and to transform the plain of Ssafyn by their blood into the river Jayhûn' [i.e., Oxus]. Asha'th B. Qays likewise said: 'O Amir of the Faithful, is it proper that while the Musalmâns are nearly perishing from thirst, and thou art our leader, our swords should remain in their scabbards? I swear by God that I shall not return, but go to the Euphrates and fight till I taste its delicious water, or quaff the potion of martyrdom.' A'li the Amir of the Faithful replied: 'Do whatever the circumstances demand.' When those two heroes had obtained leave to fight with the enemies, they departed from the exalted assembly, and ordered a man to proclaim in the camp that the legitimate Emâm had given permission to the people of E'râq to begin hostilities with the partisans of rebellion in order to drive them away from the watering-place. Hereon, in less than an hour, more than ten thousand brave warriors assembled under the banner of Asha'th B. Qays Alkindy, and in the same manner many relatives and friends of Mâlek crowded around his tent, whereon both those officers marched to their destination. Mâlek ordered the infantry to precede the cavalry, leaving a short interval between them, and in this manner they advanced till they reached the army of Moa'wiah, near the bank of the river. When the encounter of the two armies was impending, Mâlek and Asha'th bared their heads, shouting: 'Leave the river-bank, O ye rebels, and betake yourselves to the shore of safety, else you will become partners in the shedding of your own blood.' Abu-l-a'ur, on his part, roared back: 'The matter is not so easy. Wait till you see the strength of the arms of men, and feel the wounds from their swords.' Then Mâlek incited the cavalry, and Asha'th the infantry, to the attack, whereon both armies commingled like the [waves of the] Indian Ocean.

Abu Hâny B. Moa'mmar says: 'In that battle I was attending on Mâlek Ashtar, and seeing him to be very thirsty, offered him water; but he refused to accept it,

saying: "I shall not comfort my soul before the thirst of the Musalmâns has been quenched."' Meanwhile the troops of Abu-l-a'ur began shooting arrows, and Ashtar rushed among the opponents, seven of whose champions he threw to the ground. When Ashtar with his companions had become exceedingly thirsty, and the heat of the day had increased, he ordered the water-bags to be brought forward, and to everyone who possessed a bag he said: 'When I fight with the soldiers of Abu-l-a'ur, and scatter them about, none of you are to separate from me before you have filled your vessels with water.' Then Mâlek Ashtar again rushed into the lines of the enemy, broke them, ran to the bank of the Euphrates, and stood there till the infantry had filled their water-bags. After the fire of the contest had been raging awhile on the river-bank, marks of weakness and despondency manifested themselves on the countenances of the wicked faction, and Abu-l-a'ur, having been driven from his position, sent a messenger to inform Moa'wiah of the state of affairs, whereon the Governor of Syria became dismayed and sad, on account of the advantage the army of the chief of the adherents of Islâm had gained, and despatched A'mru B A'ass with three thousand men to reinforce Abu-l-a'ur. When A'mru reached the battlefield, and the eye of Mâlek had alighted on him, he said to his friends: 'Rejoice! we are the adherents of truth and our opponents the partisans of falsehood; there is no doubt that falsehood must always be vanquished and subdued.' Then he placed his buckler on his head and assailed A'mru B. A'ass, who, however, preferred flight to permanency, and took refuge in the lines of the army of Syria. The flames of the battle having been kindled, one portion of the adherents of rebellion and opposition perished by the sword, another was drowned in the Euphrates, and the rest, being disgracefully routed, fled to Moa'wiah, so that the victorious army took its position on the bank of the river with a relieved heart and peaceful mind. After A'mru B. A'ass had fled from the Euphrates, and rejoined Moa'wiah, he reproached him, saying: 'If A'li

the Amir of the Faithful deals to-day with us concerning the water as we have dealt with him, it will become plain to us [how he felt].' Moa'wiah said: 'Let alone bygones, and tell me what thou thinkest A'li will do?' A'mru replied: 'He will not act as thou hast acted, will not retaliate for thy unworthy doings, and will hinder no one to drink water.' Moa'wiah, having repented of what he had done, sent twelve men of the chiefs and notables of his dominion, such as Dzohâk B. Qays, and Bashar B. Arttâ, and Muqâtl B. Zaid, and Joshub B. Tzelym, each of whom was a man of distinction, to A'li the Commander of the Faithful, to implore his lordship not to make any difficulties about the taking of water [by his enemies]. When that company arrived at the august camp, A'li the Commander of the Faithful met them and asked what they had come for. Joshub, forestalling the others, said: 'O father of Hasan, as thou hast now obtained dominion over and possession of the water, be gracious and liberal therewith and pardon the crime of Moa'wiah.' After him Muqâtl B. Zaid spoke as follows: 'O Emâm of the Musalmâns! Moa'wiah has made the avenging of the blood of O'thmân his pretext for his rebellion and ingratitude, but his real object is to attain power in the world, and enjoyment in this perishable mansion. Although I am from Syria, He who knows what is hidden and what is revealed knows also that I always entertained love for thee and trusted in thee. I swear by God that I shall not rejoin Moa'wiah, but shall, as long as I live, not withdraw the hand of my service and attachment from the skirt of thy glory and felicity, and it is known to me as a certainty, that to be slain in allegiance to thee will be martyrdom' [*i.e.*, a happy end]. When A'li the Commander of the Faithful had become aware of the reason for which the grandees of Syria had paid this visit to the victory-portending camp, he lauded God—whose name be praised and exalted—offered salutations to his lordship the refuge of the apostolate—u. w. bl.—mentioned some of his own deeds, the virtues of Hamzah[31] and of the

[31] Killed at Ohod. See Part II., vol. i., p. 396, of this work.

flying Ja'fer,[92] and said: 'Go and tell Moa'wiah that he may drink of the Euphrates, and quench also the thirst of his cattle without any interference whatever on our part.' Also another of the intimate adherents of Abu-l-a'ur, beholding the perfect kindness and mercy of A'li the Commander of the Faithful, caught hold of the skirt of remorse and penitence, repented of his opposition and enmity to his lordship, and was enrolled among the close and trustworthy adherents after apologizing for his previous conduct.

Both armies drew as much water from the Euphrates as they required, and, beginning to have intercourse with each other, manifested no other intentions but such as were good and proper. When a week had elapsed after the quarrel about the water and the untoward event which ensued, Moa'wiah said to those who were near him: 'I have decided to send a detachment for guarding the road of Eráq, so as to hinder people from conveying eatables to the camp of A'li B. Abu Ttâleb.' A'mru B. A'ass then said: 'This is an unfortunate and perverse intention, and the result of this improper step may be similar to that which followed after laying an embargo upon the water.' Moa'wiah continued: 'It is very dangerous to fight with his lordship, the Murtadza, because he has with him most of the Mohâjer, the Anssâr, and the greater portion of the followers,[93] so that they would most probably conquer us. but if we deprive them of food they will be weakened, and their comfort will be destroyed.' A'mru B. A'ass said: 'Give up this design, because if A'li hears of it he will despatch a company of undaunted lions to repel those whom thou wilt send.' This admonition having taken no effect on Moa'wiah, he ordered A'bdu-r-rahman B. Khâled B. Alwolyd, with a detachment of warriors from Syria, to guard the road of E'râq. A'bdu-r-rahman, however, replied: 'Thou hast surrendered all the districts and towns

[92] Killed at Mowtab. See Part II., vol. ii., pp. 570, 571 of this work.

[93] These came after the personal companions of the apostle.

of Syria to thy particular friends, and now thou abandonest me to the fangs of a tiger and to the jaws of a whale, although I have never received from thee any worldly goods, nor one *Fuls*[94] of money. On the morn of the resurrection the Lord of glory will not blame me for not having avenged the blood of O'thmân, but for having followed thee in lieu of A'li B. Abu Ttâleb.' Moa'wiah, displeased with the words of A'bdu-r-rahman, then sent Dzohâk B. Qays with one thousand cavalry to the road of E'raq, where they intercepted a company of men who were carrying dates, barley, fat, and oil to the august camping-ground of the army, and, capturing them, said: 'Convey these goods to the camp of Moa'wiah, and he will pay the full price for them.' The people of the caravan, however, replied: 'We shall never sell anything to the enemies of A'li the Commander of the Faithful, although we may get the profit of a dinâr for the value of a dirhem.' When the antagonists had received this throat-choking answer from the people of the caravan, concerning the sale of their goods, they made prisoners of them with all they possessed, and sent them to Moa'wiah. A man of the caravan, however, having watched his opportunity, fled, and having been made happy by kissing the feet of the Amir of the Faithful, narrated this case to him, whereon his lordship exclaimed: 'What has this son of the liver-eater[95] done to me, and what will his descendants do afterwards to my children and family?' Then the Shâh and possessor of the Vicariate asked that man to describe the leader of the people who had taken the caravan, and he said: 'He was a tall man with knit eyebrows, flat nose, and had a wound on his right cheek.' His lordship said: 'That man is Dzohâk. Now, who will give a reply to that low-bred wind-bag with a stroke of his bright scimitar?' Zobeyr B. Qays, considering his soul to be favoured by accepting this service, marched with five hundred men to attack Dzohâk, whom

[94] Name of the smallest copper coin.
[95] The meaning of this expression has been explained already in footnote 84.

they wounded when the two parties encountered each other, and killed twelve of his men. When Dzohâk presented himself to Moa'wiah, A'mru B. A'ass was pleased, but reproved him for the ill-success of his plan, and hinted at the weakness of his understanding.

After the above event, his sacred lordship the Amir of the Faithful sent envoys to Moa'wiah for the purpose of using arguments to induce him to pay homage. At that time one hundred and sixty thousand combatants had assembled in the camp of Moa'wiah, who, trusting in the numbers of his army, demurred to listen to the wise persuasion of the envoys, so that their mission was fruitless.— Let it not remain hidden to the appreciating minds of intelligent persons that historians—A. h. m. o. t.—have composed treatises and volumes giving detailed accounts of the hostilities between Moa'wiah and his lordship the Amir of the Faithful, but that there are great discrepancies in their traditions and statements. If I were to insert a variety of accounts, I would be disappointed in my object, which is the completion of this work. As, however, the statements of Abu Hanifah Dinwari are more concise, and historians place more trust in him than in other narrators, the reins of the gently ambling reed will henceforth be turned to the translation of his work, from which the stories will be taken if it pleaseth Allah—who be exalted.

Both Parties despair of Peace, and renew Hostilities.

The tradition of Abu Hanifah Dinwari concerning the events of Ssafyn is that during the three months—namely, Rabyi' the first, Rabyi' the second, and Jomâdi the first—numerous letters and messengers passed between A'li B. Ttâleb the Commander of the Faithful and Moa'wiah, but all the negotiations for peace abutted in nothing. At that time both armies and the heroes of both parties were drawn out opposite to each other for the purpose of fighting; but on every occasion ascetics and memorizers of the Qurân

stepped into the battle-ground, cooled the ardour of both parties with the limpid waters of advice, and would not allow them to use their arrows, bows, lances, and swords. When the month Jomâdi the first had terminated, his sacred lordship A'li the Commander of the Faithful engaged in arranging the victory-allied army, and sent the message that the next day a battle was to be fought. Moa'wiah on his part also ordered the people of Syria to get ready for action. Thereon both armies fought daily, offering to each other the unpalatable beverage of death from the latter half of Jomâdi the second till the beginning of Rajab, and ceased hostilities when the new moon was perceived, that month being considered sacred in Islâm as well as in the time of ignorance; so that neither strangers nor towns-people, nor the high and the low classes, fought with each other. On this occasion Abu-l-durdâ and Abu Asâmah, who lived in Syria, and were at that time with Moa'wiah, said to him: 'As we are convinced that A'li the Commander of the Faithful is more worthy to sit on the couch of the Khalifate than thyself, tell us by what historical or logical reason thou wagest war against him?' Moa'wiah replied: 'On account of the blood of O'thmân.' They queried: 'Has A'li or another made a martyr of O'thmân?' He answered: 'The murderers of O'thmân are with him. If you can induce him to surrender them to me, I shall be the first man in Syria to pay him homage.' Those two respected individuals thereon betook themselves to the victory-marking camp of the lion of attack, and reported to him what Moa'wiah had said. When the glorious army had been informed of the arrival of Abu-l-durdâ and of Abu Asâmah, as well as of their intention, about twenty thousand men of reputation came forward, meeting those two individuals, and shouting: 'We are all slayers of O'thmân" The envoys, who were of the number of the companions of the apostle of Allah—u. w. b.—forthwith departed from the camp on seeing this state of affairs, but also refrained from having anything to do with Moa'wiah. They preferred to remain in the corner of separation, and,

according to the proverb that 'Safety is in solitude,' abstained from taking part in those hostilities. Moa'wiah, having again become impatient, then despatched Shorahbyl B. Shamatt, with Habyb B. Solmah and Moghan B Zaid Allakhnas, to A'li the Commander of the Faithful with the message: 'If thou surrenderest the murderers of O'thmân, we shall delegate the election of the Khalifah to a consultative assembly, so that he who is approved of by the Musalmâns may be appointed to that post.' They then hastened to the abode of the Khalifate, and the first man to speak was Habyb; but as his lordship the Amir insulted him, he became angry and departed from the assembly, saying, however, before doing so: 'A'li, I swear by God that thou wilt soon experience something which will displease thee.' Then Shorahbyl said to the Amir of the Faithful: 'What wisdom is there in thy not surrendering the slayers of O'thmân?' His lordship replied: 'It is not in my power to deliver twenty thousand sword-bearing men to the foe.' When they learnt that this was the case, they left the victory-hoping camp, and informed Moa'wiah of what the Commander of the Faithful had said.

Abu Hanifah Dinwari states that the two opposing armies remained drawn up close to each other from the beginning of Rajab to the end of Muharram[96] without any hostilities taking place between them, and that on the last day of Muharram, near sunset, A'li the Commander of the Faithful sent a herald to the camp of Moa'wiah to shout: 'We have abstained from fighting till the month of Muharram has elapsed, and I invite you to follow the straight road and the right direction. Undoubtedly God the Most High and Glorious is not a friend to traitors.' Arrangements and preparations for a conflict of the two armies having been made during the first night of the month Ssafar, the right and the left wings were drawn out in the morning, and the leaders of both armies entrusted them to their respective commanders. Thus his sacred lordship A'li the Commander of the Faithful appointed A'mmâr B. Yâser to

[96] Nearly seven months!

command the whole cavalry, and A'bdullah B. Hosyl Khozâa'yi the infantry; Asha'th B. Qays had charge of the right flank, and A'bdullah B. A'bbâs of the left. He ordered the tribes to fight under one of the Amirs, and gave the greatest banner to Hâshem B. O'tbah B. Abu Woqqâss. The names of the Amirs of his lordship the Commander of the Faithful are as follows: Sulaymân B. Ssard Alkhozâa'yi, Hâreth B. Murrah Ala'bdy, A'mru B. Alhamaq, Hussayn B. Almundhar, Ahnaf B. Qays, Noa'ym B. Hobyrah, Hârethah B. Qudâmah, Refaa'h B. Shadâd, Abu Ayûb the Anssâry, Abu-l-hashym B. Alshybân the herald of the apostle of Allah—u. w. bl.—A'dy B. Hâtim Attâyi, A'mru B. O'ttâryd, Junayd B. Zohyrah, Khâled B. Mua'mmer, Shyth B. Rabyi', Sa'd B. Qays B. A'bdullah B. Attufayl, A'mru B. Hanttalah, Qays B. Sa'd B. A'bâdah the Anssâry, Shaddâdu-l-hâny, Qâsum B. Hanttalah, Qays Aljuhanny, A'mru B. Mazyd, Mâlek B. Hâreth Alashtar Alnakha'yi, Sa'd B. Maswad At-thaqfy, Zyâd B. Annassar, Sharykh B. Hâny, Moa'qal B. Qays, Qabydzah B. Shaddâd, A'amer B. Wâylah, Hâreth B. Naufil, Zaid B. Ssa'ssa'h B. Ssûhân, A'mru B. Habylah, Aa'yn B Ttyfah, Adym B. Ash-shybân, Hussyn B. Nomyr, Hajr B. A'dy, and Hozaymah B. Jâber.

Moa'wiah on his part ordered his officers to draw up the forces, saying: 'Let the whole cavalry listen to the words of A'bdullah B. A'ass with the audition of acquiescence.' He enjoined all the infantry not to trangress the commands of Moslamah B. O'qbah, and appointed O'beydullah B. Omar B. Alkhattâb to the command of the right wing, entrusting the left to the charge of Habyb B. Moslamah. He gave the greatest banner to A'bdu-r-rahman B. Khâled B. Alwolyd, and ordered each tribe to be under the command of an officer. The names of all the Amirs and officers of Moa'wiah are as follows: Dzohâk B. Qays, Dhu-l-Kalâgh the Hemyarite, Refa'h B. Alhâreth, Sofiân B. A'mru, Solmah B. Khâled, Bashir B. Arttâ, Hâreth B. Khâled, Hamâm B. Qytt, Khosheb B. Dhi Tzelym, Hasân B. Majdal, Hâbes B. Rabya'h, Zaid B. Bahyrah, Yazid B. Asad, Ttaryf B. O'mayr, Mohâreq B. Hâreth, Qâtel B. Qays, Hamzah B. Mâlek,

Qa'qâa' B. Azhar, A'mru B. Ala'ass, Helâl B. Abu Hobyrah, Abu-l-a'ur, and Yazid B. Ommyah.

When the two armies had been drawn out in battle array, they stood opposite to each other under their respective banners, restraining their tongues from speaking and their hands from acting, when all of a sudden a man named Juhal B. Athâl stepped out from the victory-boding army shouting for a champion, whereon his own son, who was in the army of Syria, drew forth his hand from the sleeve of boldness, and was ready for the duel. As, however, both were covered with iron armour, they failed to recognise each other. As blows with the sword took no effect on either of them, Athâl grasped the belt of his son and pulled him from his saddle, so that he fell to the ground. Then Athâl likewise alighted from his horse, and, the vizors of both having been displaced, they recognised each other. Then they separated, one returning to the army of A'li the Commander of the Faithful, and the other to that of Moa'wiah. Then the people also dispersed, returned to their places, and besides this event nothing occurred on that day.

The next day, when the scimitar-wielding sun had put to flight the hosts of the night, both armies again drew themselves up in battle-array, and took positions opposite to each other. Now, of the partisans of Moa'wiah one O'tbah B. Abu Sofiân, having tightly girded his loins to wreak vengeance on the army of E'râq, stepped into the battle-ground, and, having opened his mouth with boasts and exultations, challenged Ja'dah B. Hobyrah B. Abu Wahab, the Qoraishy, to a duel. Hereon Ja'dah also stepped out from his lines, and, having encountered each other, the fire of conflict was kindled between them; but although these two brave warriors made the greatest efforts to acquire a name and reputation in the contest, they remained fruitless, neither of them prevailing, and at last O'tbah, having been wounded by the sword of the tongue of Ja'dah, retaliated with similar follies, and both, getting angry, returned to their respective places. During that

same hour, however, both again sallied forth from their lines, each at the head of a company of rank-breaking heroes, and approached each other. The spectators of this contest fixed their eyes on the combatants to see how it would end. At last Ja'dah put O'tbah to flight, thus raising his flag of bravery up to the dome of Orion.[97]

It is recorded in some histories that when the combat was imminent his lordship the Amir of the Faithful addressed a select assembly as follows, after having offered praises to the Almighty and salutations to Ahmad the elect —u. w. bl.: 'We belong to the tribe of the faithful apostle and to his pure family; we have firmly trodden the straight path, and the rays of grace of the Eternal Sovereign have shone upon us. The foundations of the bright religion, and the edifices of the Faith of Islâm, have been strengthened by our efforts. The pillars of the brilliant law, the bases of the "Rukn" and the "Maqâm,"[98] have been made durable by us. We are like the ark of Noah which saved those who embarked in it from all dangers, and all perished who remained outside of it.' He also said: 'O ye congregation of Musalmâns, be not dismayed and sorrowful, because on the morn of the resurrection you will be rejoiced by the mercy of the Nourisher, the intercession of the elect apostle, the society of the pious and the righteous. You must be diligent in reciting the words of the Lord [*i.e.*, the Qurân], imploring the Deity to grant you the victory. Advance cautiously towards the enemy, and do not incur the shame of defeat and flight. I prohibit you to fight unless the enemy makes the beginning, and not to engage in the contest except after repeatedly urging arguments against it [and they are disregarded by the foe]. If those people are routed by the favour of God, pursue but do not kill them. Abstain from injuring the wounded, and let females alone, although they may use insulting language towards you, because their intellect is weak and sense

[97] The constellation Orion is drawn in Oriental maps of stars as a hero wielding a sword.

[98] The 'buttress' and the 'place of Abrahim,' near the Ka'bah.

slender; when we were fighting and striving for the religion in the time of the apostle of Allah—u. w. bl.—we were not ordered to injure women.' He also said with his pearl-dropping mouth: 'O Musalmâns, take awe and the fear of God—who be praised and exalted—for your motto; let piety guide your actions, be patient and forbearing; but do not give way to hesitation or confusion, and set your teeth firmly when you fight with your swords and lances.' After he had spoken more on this subject and imparted salutary advice, he stepped into the battlefield with his noble sons, and with the chief Mohâjer and Anssâr—may Allah be pleased with them; but Awys Qarny—A. h. m. o. h.—having placed his hand upon the felicity-bringing stirrup, followed that sun of virtue and perfection like a shadow.

There is a tradition that when the two armies were standing opposite to each other, drawn up in battle-array, a man of the army of Moa'wiah shouted: 'O ye people of E'râq, is Awys Qarny among you?' Having received an affirmative reply, and being asked why he inquired for him, he continued: 'I have heard the apostle of Allah say that Awys Qarny is the best of followers on account of his gratitude.' Then this Syrian left the champions and joined the adherents of the Commander of the Faithful. It is said that on the third day of the hostilities Haryth, the freed slave of Moa'wiah, who was undaunted and furious in battle, desirous to raise the dust of disturbance in the field of the heroes, mounted the horse of his owner, donned his coat, and asked him: 'Wilt thou give me the district of Ttabaryah if I slay the son of Abu Ttâleb?' Moa'wiah replied: 'Take care not to fight with A'li, because I have only two confidants, one of them being thyself and the other A'bdu-r-rahman B. Khâled B. Alwolyd. If a misfortune befalls you, I can find no substitutes for you. If the desire to fight has overpowered thy mind, attack Mâlek Ashtar, and if thou slayest him my mind will be delivered from the bonds of grief.' When, however, A'mru B. A'ass knew that Haryth was desirous to fight A'li, he privately said to him: 'However anxious Moa'wiah may be to see A'li killed, he

is unwilling that his own freed slave should kill his cousin. Thou must make haste to attack him, and not delay to annihilate him.' Haryth having been beguiled by the words of A'mru, forgot the advice of Moa'wiah, entered the lists of contest, and challenged A'li the Commander of the Faithful to a duel, who thereon approached him and gave him such a blow on the head with the sword that he breathed no more. Moa'wiah, grieved by the death of Haryth, said to A'mru: 'Thou hast acted unjustly by goading him on to what I disliked, namely, to attack A'li.' A'mru replied: 'What is past is past; now I see no one fit to fight A'li except A'bdullah B. Musa'dah Alqarâry. Give him thy robe and horse, and send him to remove the son of Abu Ttâleb.' Moa'wiah replied: 'I do not know what evil Ebn Musa'dah has machinated against thee that thou shouldst seek his death, as thou hast sought that of Haryth.' A'mru replied: 'Nothing of the kind is the case, but those who have been adorned with the garlands of the administration of provinces must fight thy enemies.' Moa'wiah then called Ebn Musa'dah, and made him fair promises to induce him to gird his loins and fight with A'li the Commander of the Faithful; Musa'dah, however, having placed the seal of taciturnity on his mouth, gave no reply. A'mru B. A'ass then exclaimed: 'Allah, Allah, Allah forbid! Do not become liable to disgrace.' Ebn Musa'dah, being helpless, assented at last, whereon Moa'wiah gave him his own horse and clothes, saying: 'Hasten to attack A'li, and maybe by thy strenuous efforts our minds will be delivered of apprehensions.' Ebn Musa'dah then betook himself to the battle-ground, and having reached his lordship A'li the Amir of the Faithful, was attacked by him with the sword. Perceiving that he could not escape with life from the strokes of the [sabre] Dhu-l-fiqâr, Ebn Musa'dah raised a shout of lamentation and apology, saying: 'O Commander of the Faithful, I am not Moa'wiah, but he has compelled me to don his clothes and sent me unwillingly against thee.' The Amir of the Faithful then exclaimed: 'Begone, may thy mother be childless!' When A'bdullah B. Musa'dah

had returned, he presented himself to Moa'wiah, who overwhelmed him with a variety of objurgations, but A'bdullah asked: 'O Moa'wiah, lovest thou thy life?' Receiving an affirmative reply, he continued: 'I also love mine. I do not stand in need of the governorship thou hast promised me if I fight A'li.' On that occasion A'mru B. A'ass said to Moa'wiah: 'Send Bashir B. Arttâ to attack A'li.' Moa'wiah, having approved of this suggestion, then ordered Bashir to hasten to the side of the lion of God and to attack him, whereon that prudent individual, beguiled by the words of Moa'wiah, made preparations for the contest, but his nephew asked: 'Knowest thou at all whom thou art going to oppose?' He replied. 'How can I reject the order of Moa'wiah?' The nephew of Bashir was much grieved, and recited some poetry to him, meaning. 'If thou feelest thyself strong enough to combat A'li Murtadza, attack him with the right intention and a firm step, or else be not deceived, because, although a rapacious animal may be self-conscious of strength, it is of little account in comparison to that of a lion, so that it becomes at last his prey. O son of Arttâ, perhaps thou art ignorant and art not aware of the awe which his lordship the receptacle of the Vicariate inspires, and of the furious blows he metes out? Thou knowest not that death sits on the top of his lance when he fights, and that destruction is abiding in the hilt of his sanguinary blade.' However much the nephew of Bashir endeavoured to hinder him from stepping into the desert of aberration, he could effect nothing. When this foe approached his lordship the receptacle of the Vicariate and aimed a blow at him, it proved fruitless, whereon the Shâh of the abode of Vicarship became so incensed that, lifting his blessed hand, he caught hold of Bashir and threw him to the ground from his saddle, but abstained from further injuring him. A'yâsh B. Rabya'h then asked: 'O Amir, why hast thou not altogether despatched this fellow?' His lordship, however, replied: 'There is a respite in his death. O A'yâsh, if thou remainest alive it will become known to thee what he is going to do to the members of

my family.' After Bashir had returned, the champions of Syria deemed it incumbent upon themselves to abstain and to refrain from further molesting the Shâh and asylum of Vicarship, and remained stationary at their posts. His lordship then returned to his station in the centre of the army, whereon Zyrqân B. Badr—who was distinguished by valour and temerity, and had by his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. bl.—been appointed superintendent of the legal alms, and was also during the sway of Abu Bakr entrusted with the administration of the booty, and had during the time of O'mar gone by his orders to Syria to fight for the religion, where he had since established himself—went to the battle-ground and shouted for a champion. Then Hasan the Amir of the Faithful—p. o. h.—asked permission from his glorious father to encounter him. His lordship granted the request of the pupil of his eye [*i.e.*, darling son], whose beloved brothers commenced to cry, but his lordship the Amir pacified them. When Hasan—u. w. p.—had approached Zyrqân, he asked: 'Who art thou?' Hasan then mentioned his name and descent, whereon Zyrqân continued: 'O grandson of the apostle of Allah, if thy lance were to enter my bowels I would not look in anger at thee. How can I fight with thee, having seen the apostle kissing thee many times!' Hasan the Amir of the Faithful asked: 'If thou considerest me from such a point of view, why hast thou preferred Moa'wiah to me?' Zyrqân continued. 'Request A'li the Commander of the Faithful to wash off the multitude of my transgressions with the limpid waters of his mercy and pardon.' Hasan having given assent to this proposal, Zyrqân was made happy by being allowed to kiss the victory-boding stirrup, and said: 'The first man who was deceived by the follies of the world and excluded from the mercy of the Almighty was myself. I hope and request thee to purify me from my sins with the water of kindness.' Then his lordship pardoned Zyrqân, but the people continued to fight that day till dark.

Abu Hanifah Dinwari states that one day when A'mmâr B. Yâser stepped with a detachment of champions from

E'râq into the battle-ground, he was encountered by A'mru B. A'ass with a number of Syrian warriors.—A'mru had with him a black standard, and the people [recognising it] said: 'This is the banner which the apostle of Allah has tied for him.' A'li the Commander of the Faithful said: 'I shall inform you about this flag,' and continued: 'On the day when the apostle—u. w. bl.—knotted this standard, he turned to his companions and asked: "Who will take this banner with its duties?" A'mru B. A'ass asked: "What are the duties of this banner?" He replied: "The owner of it must not flee from an unbeliever, and not fight against a Moslem." The fact, however, is that during the lifetime of his lordship the apostle—u. w. bl.—he had engaged in hostilities with unbelievers and fled, and to-day, having encountered Musalmâns, he is waging war against them.'

On that day A'mmâr B. Yâser and A'mru B. A'ass fought with each other till the night set in, but neither of them prevailed over his antagonist. It is related that the next day Ahmar, the freed man of Abu Sofiân, who was celebrated everywhere for his bravery, and a worthy combatant, entered the battleground and challenged his sacred lordship A'li the Commander of the Faithful to a duel, but Zaid B. Saa'sa'ah B. Saûhân shouted at him, saying: 'The curse of God the Most-High be on the man who has sent a dog like thee to challenge the best of worshippers.' Ahmar replied: 'Words like these are uttered from cowardice and malevolence.' Meanwhile, Shuqrân, the freed man of the apostle of God, hastened to attack Ahmar, but attained the honour of martyrdom. After he had slain Shuqrân, Ahmar shouted: 'I do not want to fight anyone except his lordship A'li Murtadza, and shall not return until I have severed his head from his body.' Some persons replied: 'O dog, who art thou? Return to thy place, for thou art not his equal.' He continued: 'No, by Allah! I shall not return unless I obtain possession of the head of [A'li] the son of Abu Ttâleb, or lose my own in this contest.' When Ali the Commander of the Faithful had become aware of the folly of Ahmar, he turned the reins of his intention

towards him, and, catching him by the arm, threw him to the ground with such force that the unhallowed caitiff surrendered his life to the owner of hell. After that Karyb B. Abrahah, who was a very athletic man of the tribe Muzain, entered the lists and challenged the Amir of the Faithful to a duel.—It is said that Karyb was so strong that he could rub off with his fingers the design from a dirhem.—Murtfa' B. Alradzâh then encountered Karyb, shouting out his name and genealogy, whereon Karyb acknowledged him to be his equal, attacked him and slew him. Then Hâreth Shybâny, who used to spend his days fasting and his nights praying, assailed the cursed fellow, but was killed by him. When A'li the Commander of the Faithful perceived that the wickedness of this malefactor could not be coerced except by the action of his Dhu-l-fiqâr, he intended to step into the list, but A'bdullah B. A'dy Alhâreth said: 'I adjure thee by the right of thy consanguinity to allow me to attack this accursed fellow! If I vanquish him it is all I desire; or else I shall taste the potion of martyrdom while I attend on thee.' The request of A'bdullah having been granted, he approached Karyb, recited some poetry extolling the perfections of A'li, and attacked him, but received a lethal wound, so that he departed to the eternal mansion. Thereon the Commander of the Faithful, touched by the misfortunes of his friends, drove his horse into the field of contest, threatened Karyb with Divine wrath and punishment, advising him to come to the straight road, but he replied: 'With the sabre I hold in my hand I have taken many like thee off their legs.' After these words he aimed with his sword a blow at the Amir of the Faithful, who, having warded it off with his buckler, struck that wanderer in the desert of aberration with such force on the head that the sword divided his body in twain and came down to the pommel of the saddle. Both armies then raised a shout of applause, ascending to the zenith, on account of this performance with the Dhu-l-fiqâr. After having slain Karyb, the Amir of the Faithful returned to his post; he said, however, to Muhammad

Hanifah: 'Remain awhile on the battle-ground till one arrives to avenge the blood of Karyb.' Then this well-directed son remained at the spot at the suggestion of his praiseworthy father. Then one of the cousins of Karyb approached Muhammad Hanifah, and asked: 'Where has the horseman gone to who has slain my cousin?' He replied: 'Behold, I am standing here to take his place!' The cousin, then becoming excited, rushed at Muhammad, and they fought till the latter prostrated the former on the ground. Others then attacked him in succession, so that he at last despatched seven champions to the road of non-existence. After that a youth, issuing from his lines, said to Muhammad: 'Thou hast slain my uncles, and I have now arrived to avenge them, or to meet them [in death].' That lord, being astonished at the temerity of the youth, tried to dissuade him, but finding his efforts to be useless, this true son of A'li the Commander of the Faithful slew him. There is a tradition that Muhammad Hanifah had been asked: 'How was it that the Amir of the Faithful had encouraged thee to a contest fraught with danger, as he is taking such great care of Hasan and of Husain?' He replied: 'They are to him like his two eyes, and I like his two hands. He preserves his two eyes by means of his two hands.'

It is related that one day his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. bl.—said to A'li the Commander of the Faithful: 'God—who be glorified and exalted—will give thee a son of the Bani Hanifah, and I present him with my name and sobriquet. Call that boy by my name and surname.' When that child was born, A'li the Commander of the Faithful acted according to the injunction, and God the Most High bestowed upon Muhammad Hanifah the gifts of knowledge and bravery, which are the noblest of all qualities. It is said that Muhammad Hanifah taught his son Hâshem the sciences of interpretation;[80] and Assal B. A'ttâ, who was the head and front of the Mota'zelites, had

[80] These sciences are four in number, namely, the Qurân, the tradition, the consensus, and the reasoning.

learnt these sciences from him, but, having afterwards swerved from the straight road, became a Mota'zelite.[100]

It is related that one day A'bdu-r-rahman B. Khâled B. Wolyd, coming out from his lines, asked for a champion, whereon Mâlek Ashtar met him and broke his helmet, so that he returned and said to Moa'wiah: 'We have no longer the strength and power to avenge the blood of O'thmân, which will not cease to boil till we have all been slain.' Moa'wiah replied: 'Thou hast quickly become tired of war, and hast been disheartened by a wound which is as trifling as one inflicted by children on each other in sport; this thou knowest not, although thou art fighting in the cause of a Khalifah of great dignity, who has been abased and unjustly slain. Be patient and firm in this matter, because "*Allah is with the patient.*"'[101] A'bdu-r-rah-man continued: 'Thou art sitting as a leisurely spectator on the couch of government, whilst our lot is to fight. If thy words be true and sincere, take up thy arms and step out:

'How long wilt thou repose, wearing easy clothes?
Why donnest thou not the cuirass of battle sometimes?'

Moa'wiah, nettled by the words of A'bdu-r-rahman, put on his armour and helmet, advanced towards the forces of the A'mir, chanting verses in the rajaz measure, and asking for a champion from the Hamdân tribe. Thereon Sa'yd B. Qays Hamdâny walked out from the victorious army, and knowing his opponent to be Moa'wiah, forthwith impelled his horse and assailed him, but he ran like a fox, and reached the door of his own tent in great haste, where he alighted. Being overpowered by terror, he did not say a word to anyone, and, as fear acted on his bowels, he visited the privy thrice. After Moa'wiah had fled, Mâlek Ashtar stepped into the battlefield and called for a champion, whereon A'bdullah B. Omar B. Alkhattâb, not knowing him, girded his loins for a duel, and having approached

[100] This may be called the sect of 'Separatists,' whose tenets are well known.
[101] Qurân, ch. ii. 148.

him, asked: 'What is thy name? because I do not fight with any but my equals.' Mâlek replied: 'I am called Mâlek B. Hâreth.' A'bdullah remaining awhile silent, afterwards said: 'If I had known that thou art Mâlek, I would not have come to fight thee. I shall now return with thy permission.' Mâlek continued: 'Consider that people will say, "The son of O'mar has retreated from the field of contest, and was unwilling to fight his equal."' A'bdullah said: 'I care for my life, and in comparison to that, the gossip of people counts for little.' Mâlek continued: 'As this is thy opinion, return in peace, and refrain hereafter from fighting with a man whom thou knowest not.' O'beydullah [*supra* A'bdullah], happy to have escaped with his life, then retraced his steps, and Moa'wiah said to him: 'Why all this fear and fright, there being no difference between thee in virility and bravery?' O'beydullah asked: 'Why fightest thou not with him?' Moa'wiah replied: 'I have fought with a man who is not inferior to him, namely, Sa'yd B. Qays Hamdâny.' O'beydullah retorted: 'Thou speakest the truth, but the fact is that after thou hadst come near to him thou hast fled from him, as a fox runs away from a lion.' Moa'wiah continued: 'If I step into the list with A'li B. Abu Ttâleb, I swear by God that I shall not return.' During this conversation Moa'wiah and O'beydullah heard his lordship the A'mir of the Faithful shouting: 'O son of Hind, forbear shedding the blood of Musalmâns, and abstain from injuring them, but approach me for a moment that we may contend with each other on this battlefield. If thou art victorious, a realm will become subjected to thee, but if the Lord of Glory vouchsafes me His aid, the people will be delivered from these fatigues and miseries.' When Moa'wiah knew that A'li Murtadza was addressing him, he placed the seal of taciturnity on his lips, whereon O'beydullah said to him: 'Do not mind what thou hast said before, but listen to what the Amir says! If thou art brave, and the true son of Abu Sofiân, then step out, that we may behold the strength of thy hand, and witness the

consequences of thy valour and championship.' Although O'beydullah spoke much to this effect, Moa'wiah would by no means open his lips to give a reply. A'li the Commander of the Faithful repeated his challenge several times, and capered about on the battle-ground, but when he had ascertained that Moa'wiah would not fight, he galloped straight into the lines of the opponents from the right flank to the left, shouting for a champion, prostrating several of them to the ground, and then returned to his own army, in the centre of which he took up his position. When O'beydullah B. O'mar saw Moa'wiah greatly impressed by the undaunted courage of the lion of attack, he said: 'We imagined thee to be more brave and stout-hearted than to flee from Sa'yd B. Qays, and to defile a privy with thy evacuations. After that thou hast [nevertheless] boasted that if A'li B. Abu Ttâleb encounters thee, thou wilt grasp his belt with thy hand; but when he challenged thee to combat thou hast trembled in all thy limbs, and thy complexion has changed, and I do not know how thou wilt extricate thyself from this affair.' Moa'wiah, becoming incensed at these words of O'beydullah, then addressed A'mru B. A'ass in this strain: 'Hearest thou what the son of O'mar B. Alkhattâb says concerning me, and how bold he is?' A'mru B. A'ass replied: 'He speaks the truth, because the son of Abu Ttâleb had entered the field and challenged thee, but thou hast considered thyself excused [from fighting].' Moa'wiah continued: 'A'mru, perhaps thou desirest to become Khalifah by speaking in this way, because I have seen no one fighting A'li and escaping with life.' A'mru B. A'ass replied: 'I swear by God that I do not covet the Khalifate, and if I were to covet it, no one would consider it strange or impossible; but I fear the men who will say that the son of thy uncle, having entered the list, challenged thee to fight, and thou, having ignored and disregarded the call, hast not budged from thy place. Be aware that this behaviour is a great reproach and shame to thee.' Moa'wiah only laughed at these words, and engaged in conversation with another Amir. Meanwhile

A'li the Commander of the Faithful, having changed his dress, stepped *incognito* into the field, and shouted for a champion. Then A'mru B. A'ass advanced several steps in perfect ignorance of his antagonist, because if he had known him he would have lost his strength and died of fright. The Amir rode about near A'mru, wishing to decoy him a little further from the lines of Moa'wiah, and that whale of the sea of fraud and eminent boaster [*i.e.*, A'mru], imagining that his antagonist, being cowardly, would fail to attack him, advanced a few steps more, and recited verses in the rajaz measure of the following purport: 'O ye chiefs of the army of Kûfah! O ye partisans of dissension! O ye slayers of O'thmân! I shall attack you and shall cut your limbs to pieces with my blood-dripping sword, although the father of Hasan—namely, A'li the Commander of the Faithful—may be among you.' When his lordship had heard the rajaz verses of A'mru B. A'ass, he replied with his wonderfully eloquent mouth in the same measure and rhymes, but as soon as A'mru B. A'ass had ascertained who had given him this replication, he turned his reins towards his own lines, and whipped his horse, but A'li the Amir of the Faithful, having pursued him with great celerity, touched A'mru with his lance in such a manner that, falling to the ground, he was sprawling on his back with both his legs in the air, and, as he had no *isâr*,[183] his sexual parts were bared. A'li the Commander of the Faithful, seeing him in this condition, refrained from injuring A'mru, and turned his face away from him. There is a tradition that after the Amir of the Faithful had seen the uncovered parts of A'mru, he said: 'Begone, O son of the thirsty woman; for thou hast been made safe by thy own parts as long as thou livest, and hast been delivered from the grasp of death.' He then returned to Moa'wiah, who laughed, and said: 'Thou hast played a cunning trick, and executed a nice stratagem, for no one has escaped death except thyself by baring his posterior and sexual

[183] This is the same as the loin-cloth, or *dhôti*, worn also by Hindus in our times.

organ. Thou must henceforth all thy life be thankful to this organ and keep it in honour. O A'mru, what a disgrace is this thou hast brought on thyself!' A'mru replied: 'Moa'wiah, hadst thou been in my place, A'li would have destroyed thee, making a widow of thy wife and orphans of thy children. At the time, however, when he challenged thee, I saw thy face turning yellow, and it is yet so, up to the tips of thy ears, thou hadst [on that occasion] lost the power of motion. Thou excellest me not so much in bravery as to be entitled to sneer at me.' A'mru being confused and restless, the people railed at him, and Moa'wiah said, laughing: 'How didst thou feel with thy back on the ground and thy feet sprawling in the air, for not having put on an *izâr*, as thou knewest that thou wouldst fall on thy back?' A'mru [ironically] replied: 'The occasion has not yet occurred that I encountered an enemy and fled.' Moa'wiah continued: 'It is no shame to run away from a man like A'li Murtadza, but it is very disgraceful to lift up one's legs and to display the sexual parts.' A'mru rejoined: 'It does not matter; A'li is the son of my uncle, and when he recognised me he pardoned me.' Moa'wiah retorted: 'This is a most shameless allegation, because I heard the apostle of Allah—u. w. bl.—say: "O A'li, I and thou are of one nature!" And this is his high dignity up to Adam —u. w. p. His father was a chief of the Bani Hâshem, but thine a butcher of the Qoraish.' A'mru replied: 'By Allah! thy words are more painful than wounds of arrows and sabres. Had I remained sitting in my house, not come to thee, and not bartered my religion for [the goods of] the world, I would not have heard words like these from thee, nor would I have suffered all this trouble and misery. As thou art aware of his position and high dignity, of what use is all this gossip, and how can the fountain of the sun be obscured by throwing mud at it? The best thing for thee to do will be to walk on the straight road, to abandon covetousness, to fold up this carpet of dissension, to pay him allegiance, and to squabble with me no more.'

Abu Hanifah Dinwari states that once A'li the Com-

mander of the Faithful sent the following message to Moa'wiah: 'Step into the battle-ground, that I and thou may place our hands on each other's belts, and that one of us may be killed, whereon the slayer will take his position in the court of the Khalifate and government, so that all worshippers [of God] will be delivered of trouble and misery.' Moa'wiah, having listened to the reading of this letter, consulted A'mru B. A'ass in the matter of fighting with his lordship the receptacle of the Vicariate. A'mru B. A'ass replied: 'A'li is making a perfectly just proposal.' Moa'wiah rejoined: 'Thou art deceiving and beguiling me, being desirous that I should engage in a contest with a furious elephant and roaring lion.' Then Moa'wiah excluded A'mru B. A'ass from his society, who, wishing to reconcile Moa'wiah, said a few days afterwards: 'I shall go to-morrow and attack A'li Murtadza.' Moa'wiah then became pleased, and gave him permission, so that the next day A'mru B. A'ass perfectly armed himself, and, standing in the lines, shouted: 'O father of Hasan, come forth against A'mru B. A'ass!' A'li the Commander of the Faithful then approached him, and they attacked each other with their lances; these, however, producing no effect, his lordship the Amir drew forth his Dhu-l-fiqâr from the scabbard, and attacked A'mru, who, getting frightened at the shining blade, leapt from his horse, but one of his feet being raised in the fall, his sexual parts were uncovered. Then A'li the Amir of the Faithful looked in another direction, and A'mru escaped, when, however, he had rejoined Moa'wiah, the latter said 'O courageous hero and brave combatant, give thanks to God, and consider thyself under obligations to thy sexual parts, and always keep them in honour, because they are the reason of thy deliverance.' These words became a subject for joking, whereon A'mru, having become ashamed, made several replies, which have been recorded already above.

THE KILLING OF GHURÂR B. ALADHAM.

Recorders of events have narrated that during the hostilities of Ssafyn, Ghurâr B. Aladham, who was a well-known man of Syria, had one day stepped out of his lines, taken a position between the two armies, recited verses in the rajaz measure boasting of his prowess, and shouted for a champion, but as the victory-hoping army was fully aware of the bravery and temerity of Ghurâr, no one was inclined to fight a duel with him. During this turmoil the eyes of Ghurâr alighted on A'yâsh B Rebya'h Hâshemy, and he asked him · 'Who art thou?' A'yâsh having mentioned his name and genealogy, Ghurâr continued. 'Art thou inclined to contend an hour with me in this field?' A'yâsh replied 'On condition that we alight from our horses; because fighting on foot is less safe, and a sword-cut cannot be easily avoided.' Ghurâr said, 'This is an easy matter,' and both alighting, attacked each other The two armies abstained from hostilities, and were spectators of the contest, the cuirasses of the two men were, however, so strong that their sabres took no effect While dealing out blows to each other, the eyes of A'yâsh happened to alight on a spot of the armour of Ghurâr which was less compact than any other part of it, whereon he grasped his sword with both hands, and bringing it down with force, forthwith killed Ghurâr. At this exploit the adherents of the Amir of the Faithful raised a shout which ascended to the zenith of the sky, and then they uttered the *Takbyr.*[103] The troops of Moa'wiah became ashamed and sorrowful, and A'li the Commander of the Faithful having asked his intimates who had killed Ghurâr, was informed that A'yâsh had done it. He then called A'yâsh, but reproved him, saying: 'I have ordered A'bdullah B A'bbâs and thyself not to budge from your posts, and not to leave your centres empty. Why hast thou considered it proper to transgress my injunction, and to hold lightly my command?' A'yâsh replied 'When the eye of the enemy alighted on me, he

[103] The shout *Allahu-akbar*, 'Allah the greatest,' is meant.

challenged me to fight, had I not responded, I would have become liable to the charge of cowardice.' The Amir of the Faithful continued: 'It is better to obey the injunction of the Emâm, than to act according to the wish of a foe, and to jeopardize life.' Then the Amir of the Faithful added also the invocation: 'O God, rejoice A'yâsh B. Rebya'h with Thy mercy, and do not make him lose his reward.' After Ghurâr had been killed, Moa'wiah said: 'Whoever slays A'yâsh I shall make him rich with worldly goods.' Then two men of the Bani Najm said to Moa'wiah: 'If thou wilt order, we shall undertake this business.' Moa'wiah continued: 'If you succeed in killing A'yâsh, I shall give twenty thousand dirhems to each of you.' Those two individuals, being allured by mundane gifts, approached A'yâsh and challenged him to fight. A'yâsh, however, replied: 'I cannot come without the permission of the Amir of the Faithful.' When A'yâsh reported what had taken place, his lordship exclaimed: 'I swear by God that the intention of Moa'wiah is to rid the world of the Bani Hâshem.' Then his lordship ordered A'yâsh to alight from his horse and to divest himself of his cuirass, which he then himself donned, gave him his own horse, and ordered him to remain on his own august post. When his lordship approached the Najmy men, they thought him to be A'yâsh, and asked: 'Hast thou received permission?' His lordship replied: '"*Permission is granted unto those who fight* [against unbelievers], *because they have been dealt with unjustly, and verily Allah is able to assist them.*"'[104] Then one of the Najmy men attacked his lordship, but the Shah and receptacle of the Vicariate and lion of the field of bravery so struck the waist of the man with his sword that he cut him in twain. The reporter of the tradition says, and the responsibility rests upon him, that as the man had not fallen from his horse, although cut in twain by the celerity of his lordship's sword, the spectators imagined that the attack had failed, when, however, the horse began to move and caper, and the two halves of the body separated,

[104] Qurân, ch. xxii. 40.

friends and foes applauded the exploit. Then the other obstinate fellow, allured by the promised money, encountered the Amir of the true believers, but being crushed by the foot of calamity, joined his predecessor. When Moa'wiah was informed that A'li Murtadza himself had slain those two men, he said: 'The curse of God be on haste, for whenever I indulged in it I was vanquished and abased.' A'mru B. A'ass, however, replied: 'In this fight the Najmys have been overthrown and abased, but not thou.' Moa'wiah continued: 'Be silent; this is not the time for thee to speak.' A'mru B. A'ass rejoined. 'I may at any rate say that I wish God would pardon the Najmys, although I know that He will not do so.' Moa'wiah continued. 'If they are not pardoned, then woe to thee!' A'mru replied. 'Such is the case. But if it were not for my aspirations to obtain the government of Egypt, I would be walking on the road to paradise, and on the path of paradise.' Moa'wiah said: 'Yes; thy greediness for Egypt has obscured thy eyesight, and thrown thee into the desert of aberration, because thou art a wonderfully covetous and intriguing fellow.' The writer of these lines says Moa'wiah ought to have been grateful because his own eyesight was not obscured. He was not at all greedy and covetous for worldly goods, conquering countries or attaining government, he being a simple-hearted man, who never indulged in fraud and deceit. In short, on that day the armies engaged in fighting, after much squabbling, and numberless men were slain on both sides.

Some of the Exploits of the Amir of the Faithful on the Plain of Ssafyn.

The U lamâ who wrote histories of religious wars and biographies—A. h. m. o. t.—have narrated that one day there was among the champions of Syria a man, O'thmân B. Wâyl Alhemyari by name, who, with his brother, were among the most prominent men of the age, people of intellect and consideration, each of them able to vanquish a hundred troopers in combat, and Moa'wiah B. Abu Sofiân

placed the fullest trust and greatest confidence in these two brothers on the day of battle. O'thmân entered the lists, and, shouting for a champion, was encountered by A'yâsh B. Rebya'h, who fought with him, and at last severed the head of O'thmân from his body with one blow. Then Hamzah, the brother of O'thmân, presented himself, and A'li the Amir of the Faithful, having donned the garments of A'yâsh, cut off his head, whereon the people, imagining A'yâsh to have accomplished [also] this exploit, applauded him. Then A'mru B. A'yâsh Allakhmy, who was one of the heroes of the period, made his appearance opposite to the Amir displaying his skill with the lance and sword, whereon his lordship said: 'This is a day for fighting, and not for playing.' These words having aroused the wrath of A'mru, he assailed the Shâh and receptacle of Vicarship, who then struck him with the Dhu-l-fiqâr, so that he cut off the upper portion of his body, which fell to the ground, whilst the lower part remained in the saddle. When A'mru B. A'ass beheld this feat, he exclaimed: 'I swear by God that this wound has been inflicted by no one except A'li.' Moa'wiah, however, denied it, and A'mru continued: 'If thou believest not what I have said, order the troops to make a unanimous onslaught, and if the warrior fails to retreat he must be A'li, and if not he is another man.' Moa'wiah then issued the required command, but his lordship would not budge, and when the army approached he lifted the hand of boldness and prostrated thirty-three of the opponents to the ground. Mâlek Ashtar then said: 'O Amir, restrain thy hand from contending with these erring men, and let thy noble person take no more trouble that I may coerce their malignity.' His lordship the Amir, however, replied: 'The apostle of Allah—u. w. bl.—who was the prince of the sons of Adam, the most noble and excellent of human beings, fought in this manner at the battle of Ohod in his own precious person, and if Moa'wiah had attacked me with A'mru B. A'ass, my beloved people would be delivered from severe trouble.' As Mâlek persisted in his request, his lordship retired, whereon Mâlek

challenged Moa'wiah to fight; the latter, however, replied: 'Thou art not my peer.' Then Mâlek called out Jandab B. Abu Rabya'h, who had asked for the daughter of Moa'wiah in marriage. Jandab hesitated, but A'mru B. A'ass said: 'If thou vanquishest Ashtar, Moa'wiah will give thee his daughter.' Then Jandab, wishing to become the son-in-law of Moa'wiah, approached Ashtar, who asked him: 'What promise has Moa'wiah given thee that thou comest out to fight me?' He replied: 'He made my killing thee a condition of giving me his daughter in marriage.' Mâlek Ashtar laughed, and Jandab briskly attacked him with his lance, which, however, Ashtar held so fast under his armpit that however much Jandab tried he was unable to draw it out; then Ashtar cut it in two with his sword, and Jandab, having no chance to resist, fled, but Ashtar pursued him and killed him with one blow. Fear having overwhelmed the heroes of Syria, they retreated from Mâlek, who, when he had reached Moa'wiah, wished to ease his mind and to deliver the Musalmâns from trouble by slaying him, but a fellow of the Bani Murhaj having acted as a shield to Moa'wiah, the latter considered the chance propitious, and saved his life by flight.

There is a tradition that on another day a man of the army of Syria, named Mohâreq B. A'bdu-r-rahman, entered the lists and shouted for a champion, whereon Mûmen B. O'beydu-l-morary, of the army of his sacred lordship hastened to encounter him, and they fought till Mûmen was slain by the predestination of the Omnipotent Master. The dark-hearted Syrian then severed the head of Mûmen from his body, which he threw on the ground, bared the sexual parts, and, capering about, shouted for another champion. Then Muslim B. A'bd Riah Allazdy stepped out from the victory-tracing army and fought awhile with him, but fared as badly as Mûmen, his corpse being also subjected to the same indignity by that wicked caitiff. Two other warriors then fought with him, but likewise attained the honour of martyrdom. The unhallowed fellow thereon lengthened his tongue in exulting and boastful language,

shouting for another champion; the warriors, however, of the army whose motto is victory, abhorring the denuding of their sexual parts even more than death, taking hold of the skirt of safety, refrained from accepting the challenge. When his sacred lordship the Amir of the Faithful had become aware of this state of affairs, he changed his garments and stepped into the battle-ground, whereon Mohâreq B A'bdu-r-rahman, in the fulness of his temerity and ignorance, ventured to attack the Shâh and receptacle of Vicarship, who, however, inflicted with his sword such a blow on the back of the man that he cut his body in twain, which, having fallen to the ground, he separated the head from it, which he deposited, and proceeded to fight the Syrian champions, seven others of whom he killed in succession, thus punishing them for their misdeeds.

When the antagonists witnessed what had taken place, they feared to lose their lives, and refrained from stepping into the field of contention. Moa'wiah, having perceived the signs of terror overwhelming the minds of the prominent men and heroes of the army, addressed his slave Hâreth, who had no equal in temerity, as follows: 'Do thy utmost to kill this rider' Hâreth replied · 'O Amir, I think that if all the people of Syria were to attack him he would not turn back, but kill them all He knows no fear, but thy heart is bent on sending me against him, and if I do not go thy noble mind will be displeased. I have washed my hands of my sweet life, and shall now by thy orders start to the fight, so that I may be slain, and thy noble mind not dismayed.' Moa'wiah replied: 'Allah forbid that I should approve of thy destruction, or wish any harm to befall thee. It will be better for thee to stay, and I shall send another man to fight.' Hâreth deemed these words to be great happiness, and Moa'wiah tried to find another man in the army of Syria for goading him on to a conflict with the Model of Islâm, but all his efforts were unsuccessful, no one being inclined to embark in so dangerous an enterprise. When his lordship the Amir had become cognizant of this state of affairs, he took off the helmet from his head, and

shouted: 'I am the father of Hasan!' This exclamation caused excitement in the army of Syria, but after uttering it the Amir returned. Hâreth then said to Moa'wiah 'May my father and mother be a sacrifice for thee! knowest thou at present what discernment I have? Had I ventured, poor fellow that I am, to fight, I would now be one of the number of the disgraced and killed. I cannot tell how grateful I am to thee for having preserved my life and not compelled me to throw myself into the abyss of perdition.'

The Killing of O'beydullah B. O'mar B. Alkhattâb.

It is related that one day O'beydullah B. O'mar, who was of the number of champions, marched out, with a detachment of valiant cavalry anxious to fight, for the purpose of attacking the warriors of E'râq, who were celebrated everywhere. Mâlek Ashtar, whose great boldness and valour stand in no need of description, encountered the opponents with a company more fond of battle than of a voluptuous assembly, and, a conflict having ensued, O'beydullah attacked Mâlek, who desired to cut his life short with the sabre, but the Eternal Will not assenting, O'beydullah escaped that day alive from the battle, so that the intention of Mâlek was foiled. Such being the case, he ordered line-breaking Rûmis to make an attack, and both parties contended so long with each other that even the bloodshedding and cruel planet Mars took pity on them. Mâlek having become the victor, some of the forces returned joyfully and some with sorrow to their [respective] camps. The next morning, when the sovereign of the day had drawn his sword and routed the hosts of the night, Dhu-l-kalagh the Hemyarite attacked, with four thousand warriors skilled in wielding the sword and the lance—who had made a covenant not to flee from the battle-ground—the Bani Rebya'h, who had gathered under the victory-boding standards of A'bdullah B. A'bbâs. The Bani Rebya'h, who were likewise prepared to sacrifice their lives, advanced boldly, and both parties using sabres and poniards, injured

each other to such an extent that many of them departed to paradise and many to hell. During this contest O'beydullah B. O'mar shouted to his followers who were fighting bravely: 'I am good, and the son of a good man!' When A'mmâr B. Yâser heard these words of O'beydullah, he exclaimed: 'Nay, thou art of a wicked nature.' O'beydullah thereon chanted rajaz verses, drew forth the sword of vengeance from the scabbard, and killed Shamar B. Ryân, who was one of the knights of the Rebya'h tribe.

When the world-illuminating sun deflected to the western regions, both parties restrained their hands from hostilities, and struck the drum of repose. When the next day the Shâh of the luminaries had with his gory robe stepped over the bridge of the horizon, O'beydullah B. O'mar B. Alkhattâb, with his bosom full of grief for his old friends, issued orders for an attack, and advanced in front of his party with a naked sword. On the part of the victory-allied forces the Rebya'h tribe encountered the antagonists, and a man having with his lance pierced a lethal spot on the body of O'beydullah, he fell from his horse and surrendered his life to the owner of hell, whereon the man who had slain him returned to the victorious army The people of Hamdan alleged that Hâny had killed O'beydullah, while those of Hadzramont said it was Mâlek B. A'mru, and the Rebya'h asserted that Jâber Hanafy had slain him. In his chronicle, Abu Hanifah Dinwari states that the last-mentioned assertion is the true one; Allah the Most High knows, however, best [the true state of the case].

The Killing of A'mmâr B. Yâser.

It is recorded in some chronicles that on the twenty-sixth day of the hostilities at Ssafyn, both parties were fighting before sunrise. A'mmâr B. Yâser having decided to take part in the conflict, his lordship the refuge of Vicarship dissuaded him, but he said: 'O Amir, I prefer to take refuge with God than to become a sinner.' Then he advanced towards the enemy and made several attacks, whereon

Hâreth, the brother of Dhu-l-kalâgh the Hemyarite, encountered and fought with him, but A'mmâr finished him with one blow; having, however, been overpowered by heat and thirst, he asked for water, and a bowl of *dziâh* was given him, which is milk to which water has been added, because it was very heavy [*i.e.*, rich with fat]. A'mmâr looked into the bowl, uttered the *Takbyr*, drank some milk, and gave the following explanation with his blessed mouth: 'The apostle has given me this information: "O A'mmâr, thy slayer will belong to a rebellious faction, and the place of thy killing will be between Jebrâil and Mikâil. The sign of thy killing will be that when thou askest for water they will bring thee a goblet of *dziâh*." Thus I know for certain that this is the last day of my life.'

Some chroniclers have a tradition that one day A'mmâr B. Yâser raised his head whilst the fight and battle were raging, and said: 'O God, if I knew that Thou wouldst approve of my throwing myself into this river of the Euphrates and perishing, I would do so.' On another occasion he said: 'O God, if I knew that Thou wouldst be pleased by my placing my sword against my abdomen, and leaning heavily against it till it came out at my back, I would do so.' He also said at another time: 'I do not know of anything more likely to gain Thy approbation than my waging war against this faction.' After he had said these words, he addressed his friends as follows. 'We have on three occasions fought with enemies and idolaters in the service of the apostle—u. w. bl.—under these banners which you now see in the army of Moa'wiah, and now we must attack the possessors of these standards. Let it not remain hidden from you that I shall be killed this day; when I turn my face from this perishable to the eternal mansion, you are to delegate my affairs to the Divine grace, and to be of good cheer, because A'li the Amir of the true believers, who is our chief, will on the day of the resurrection wage war against the wicked to protect the good.' After A'mmâr had uttered these sentiments, and others resembling them, he whipped his horse, entered the battle-

ground, fought valiantly, and made successive attacks, reciting verses in the rajaz measure, till a company of dark-hearted Syrians surrounded him; and one of them, who was nicknamed Abu-l-a'aryah, inflicted a wound on him in the abdomen which pained him so that he returned to his line and asked for water. A goblet of water and milk having been brought, A'mmâr looked into it, pronounced the *Takbyr*, and said: 'The apostle of Allah has spoken the truth.' Being asked for the meaning of these words, he replied: 'The apostle of Allah has informed me that the last nourishment I shall take in this world will be milk.' Then, taking the bowl in his hand, he drank, and surrendering his life to the Creator, departed to the eternal world. A'li the Amir of the Faithful, having been apprised of what had taken place, approached the pillow of A'mmâr, and, taking his head on his blessed knee, said:

'O death, who art aiming at me,
Return; thou hast destroyed all my friends.'

He also said. '"*We belong to Allah, and unto Him we shall return.*"[105] Whoever bemoans the death of A'mmâr is not a Musalmân. May God the Most High vouchsafe mercy to A'mmâr on the day when he will be resuscitated from dust, and questioned about whatever good or evil he has done! I have seen three men in the service of the apostle of God, and A'mmâr was the fourth; and if I have seen five, A'mmâr was one of them. A'mmâr is not worthy to enter paradise immediately, but when he has acquired the merit to enter it, let the gardens of Eden be prepared to receive him, because he was slain at a time the right was on his side, the apostle of Allah—o. w. bl.—having said: "The truth accompanies A'mmâr wherever he goes."' After that the Amir of the Faithful added: 'He who has killed and insulted A'mmâr will be punished in hell-fire.' Then he stepped forth with his blessed feet, held funeral prayers over A'mmâr, and buried him with his own hands—the mercy of Allah be on him.

[105] Qurân, ch. ii. 151.

It is recorded in some chronicles that on the day A'mmâr was slain a person said to Moa'wiah: 'An individual of the troops of A'li, bearing such and such marks, has been killed to-day.' Moa'wiah replied: 'That man was A'mmâr Yâser; whoever brings his head to me I shall give him a bag of dirhems.' After awhile, Wolyd B. O'tbah and Abu-l-jûn Sakûny presented themselves to Moa'wiah, bringing the head of A'mmâr, but each of them pretended to have killed him single-handed. Moa'wiah said: 'Go to A'mru B. A'ass and he will decide between you.' They then went to A'mru, who asked Wolyd whether he had slain A'mmâr, and he replied: 'I have attacked and killed A'mmâr.' A'mru replied: 'Thou hast not killed him.' Then he asked Sakûny: 'Inform me how he has been killed.' Sakûny said. 'When we fought with each other a thrust of mine took effect on him. As he fell from his horse, he said: "He will not be saved whose repentance and abasement takes place in the presence of Jebrâil and Mikâil." Saying these words, he looked to the right and left, but I severed his head from his body.' A'mru said: 'This is wickedness! *Receive the news of punishment.*' *Sakûny said*: '*If we* are killed, woe to us, and if we kill, woe to us.' And throwing away the bag, he added: 'We belong to Allah, and unto Him we shall return.'—It is related in some traditions that when A'mmâr Yâser was killed, A'mru B. A'ass said to Moa'wiah. 'Hast thou not heard his lordship the apostle —u. w. bl.—say that A'mmâr would be killed by a seditious faction?' Moa'wiah replied: 'In reality our people have not killed him, but the man has killed him who brought him to the war, namely, A'li.' A'bdullah B. A'mru A'ass, who happened to be present during that conversation, said: 'If such be the case, his lordship the apostle—u. w. bl.— had killed Hamzah.'[106] It is narrated in the history of Tabari that, on account of this clenching remark, Moa'wiah was displeased, and refrained for three days from speaking to A'bdullah. In most of the books on the religious

[106] Hamzah, an uncle of the prophet, fought on his side at Ohod, and was killed in that battle. See Part II., vol. i., p. 395, of this work.

campaigns, however, it is narrated that A'li the Commander of the Faithful had himself made the above remark when he heard of the reply of Moa'wiah, but Allah the Most High knows best [the true facts].

Some Events of Ssafyn which it is necessary to record.

Some of the U'lamâ of histories have narrated that for the space of eleven months the antagonistic forces were encamped opposite each other; almost every day an officer sallied forth with a detachment for the purpose of fighting, the sacred months only excepted,[107] but, fearing too great loss of life, they never engaged in a general battle of the two armies. It is [nevertheless] recorded in the 'Mostaqassa' that in those contests nearly seventy thousand men of the Amir of the Faithful, and one hundred and twenty thousand men of the forces of Moa'wiah, [gradually] perished. One of the celebrated men slain of the adherents of truth was A'mmâr B. Yâser, as has been narrated, and the following. Awys Qarny, and Hozymah B. Thâbet Dhu-l-Shahâdatyn, whom his sacred and prophetic lordship—u w bl.—had considered to be equivalent to two witnesses, and A'bdullah B. Hozyl Alkhozâa'yi, and Hâshem B. O'tbah B Abu Woqqâss, who was the cousin of Sa'd, and Abu-l-hashym Shaybâni the herald of the apostle—u w bl.—with many others, to enumerate whose names would be an occasion of prolixity.

The author of the 'Mostaqassa' states that seventy men who had been present in the fight of Bedr, and had come to aid the Amir of the Faithful, were slain in these hostilities.—The most noted of the adherents of futility who perished were Dhu-l-Kalâgh the Hemyarite and Khosheb B Dhu-l-Tzalym, with many others, whose names are recorded in books on the campaigns.

It is recorded in various books of the U'lamâ and of

[107] During the first, seventh, eleventh and twelfth month of the year no fighting was allowed. For the names of the months see Appendix B., Part II., vol. ii., p. 796, of this work

campaigns, that at the end of the hostilities at Ssafyn A'li the Commander of the Faithful had mounted the horse of the apostle—u. w. bl.—placed the turban of his lordship on his head, donned his lordship's cuirass on his breast, grasped his whip called *Mamshûq*, and spoke to Mâlek Ashtar as follows: 'O Mâlek, I possess a banner of the lord of apostleship with which he fought at the promulgation of Islâm, and which I have not brought out up to this time, but this day I shall fight with it; and at the time of his death his lordship said to me: "O A'li, thou wilt fight with the *Mâqathyn*, the *Qâsattyn*, and the *Mâreqyn*; and what troubles will the people of Syria inflict on thee!" Let it not remain hidden that the word *Mâqathyn* has been explained as referring to Ttolhah and Zobeyr, who broke their allegiance. It is said that the expression *Qâsattyn* means the partisans of rebellion and insurrection—namely, Moa'wiah and his companions; whilst *Mâreqyn* refers to the *Khowârej*,[108] some account of whom will be given in these pages, if Allah the Most High willeth—After A'li the Amir of the Faithful had spoken the above words, he ordered it to be proclaimed that whoever was desirous to sacrifice his life in the cause of God the Most High and Glorious must prepare for a battle. When the victory-allied army had heard this proclamation, multitudes assembled, and the Amir of the Faithful produced the banner of the apostle—u. w. bl.—which was old and in shreds; but when the eyes of the great companions alighted thereon they were unable to restrain themselves from weeping, and everyone who went to see the banner touched with it his face and eyes [in token of respect]. Then A'li the Amir of the Faithful ordered the people to fight, and they attacked the tribe which was drawn up opposite to them.

At that time, when Moa'wiah ascended the pulpit and incited his adherents to fight, nearly twelve thousand men of the Qoraish [tribe] and from the Hejâz [country] were

[108] The Kharejites, or Theocratic Separatists, who gave much trouble to Ali towards the end of his reign, and also to succeeding Khalifahs. Their creed was 'No rule but that of the Lord alone.'

standing around him in lines. A'li the Commander of the Faithful, however, drew the Dhu-l-fiqâr from its scabbard, whereon the cavaliers and valiant men of various regions who had sallied forth with the legitimate Khalifah shouted the *Takbyr* in concert with him, so that the noise shook the earth and the time; whereon the lines of the Syrians became confused, and the banners of their dominion were turned upside down.

Moa'wiah, mounting a horse, ordered the following words to be shouted: 'O people of Syria, where are you going? For, in war, sometimes flight and sometimes victory is the result' Then the men of Syria returned and attacked the people of E'râq. Moa'wiah then ordered the tribes A'k and Asha'r, who had ere this retreated from other tribes, not to advance one step further. They obeyed, but were from the side of A'li the Commander of the Faithful attacked by the Hamdân tribe, who swore that they would not return before the A'k tribe had retreated, while the latter made a similar oath that they would not retire before having put to flight the Hamdân tribe; so that for this reason many of the notables and braves were slain, their heads rolling like balls, and blood flowing like a river. At last, however, the people of Syria having been put to flight, also A'li the Amir of the Faithful retired, ordering his people to cease fighting, whereon some of his intimate friends said: 'O Amir of the Faithful, how can the face of victory show itself upon the speculum of our hopes if thou orderest us to cease fighting when the enemies have been put to flight? Had Moa'wiah vanquished us, he would undoubtedly have pursued us, causing the sword and the lance to decide the matter.' His lordship, however, replied: 'Moa'wiah is not acting in conformity with the book of God and the *Sonna* of the apostle of Allah—u. w. bl.—whereas I never undertake anything contrary to them. If he were in possession of any practical or theoretical knowledge, he would never contend with me.'

In short, after the period of hostilities had become protracted and the fights obstinate, most of the celebrated

warriors and lancers of Syria perished. Then Moa'wiah sent, in the height of his confusion and distress, the following letter to the Amir of the Faithful: 'I am of opinion that, if thou and I had known that our hostilities would end thus, we would never have begun them. It will now be convenient for us to say nothing about the past, but to make peace with each other. As we hope to live, so thou also hopest; and as we fear death, thou likewise dreadest it. Thou knowest that good and pious men have been slain in these hostilities. I have ere this requested thee to confer upon me the governorship of Syria, but to excuse me from paying allegiance to thee; and I now make the same request. If this war is not put an end to, the sword will spare no one. Hostilities ought not to have subsisted between us so long, we all being descendants of A'bd Munâf, derived from one stock, and none of us enjoying preference or excellence above each other.' When A'li the Commander of the Faithful received the epistle of Moa'wiah, he indited the following reply. 'But after [the usual preliminary I say], O Moa'wiah, thy letter has reached me, I have understood its contents, and thy rebellious disposition, obstinacy, and injustice are evident to me. As to thy allegation that if we had known our hostilities would end thus we would never have begun them, it is false; because I am to-day more desirous to fight thee than I was yesterday, and this wish will constantly be getting more intense. Thy assertion that our and thy fears and hopes are the same is likewise wrong; because you follow doubt and hesitation, but we firmness and certainty. Moreover, the anxiety of the people of E'râq for everlasting beatitude is greater than the covetousness of the adherents of schism for the goods of this world. Thy request to be made Governor of Syria without paying homage to me is not accepted, thou hast ere this proffered this request, and it was rejected, but what merit hast thou since acquired to deserve acquiescence? Thy statement that we are both descendants of A'bd Munâf is true enough; but it was wrong to allege that none of us are more excellent or more

preferable than the other, because Ommaiyah was never like Hâshem, and could never be equal in fighting to A'bdu-l-muttâlleb; neither has Ssakhar [namely, Abu Sofiân] been the equal of [my father] Abu Ttâleb; and what connection hast thou with me, for I am a freed man, and the son of a freed man? Thou canst not deem thyself to be the equal of an exile [Mohâjer], one walking in the path of Divine grace. Thou hast preceded me neither in Islâm, nor been the companion of the prophet—u w. bl.—in his exile. What virtues or exploits canst thou adduce to the people in which thou excellest me, who am the cousin of the apostle—u. w. bl.—nay, his brother, legatee, heir in knowledge, and his Khalifah? Moreover, my relation to his lordship is like that of Aaron to Moses; and if the gate of prophetship had not been sealed with his signet, I would have become happy by general prophecy as I have been distinguished by special Vicarship. His Majesty the Bestower of gifts has honoured me by revealing several verses [of the Qurân] concerning me, thus elevating the banners of favours over my head; and how can my noble children be compared with the offspring of thy times? Let it not escape thy imperfect understanding that I am determined to fight and contend with thee, and that if thou failest to attain the felicity of harmonizing with me and paying me allegiance, a calamity will befall thee—a greater and more terrible one than which has never occurred in the world—*and they who act unjustly shall know hereafter with what treatment they shall be treated.*'[109]

The Last Battle of Ssafyn, and Account of the Events of the Night of Horror.

As several historians have described the night of horror in trustworthy books, after giving the above letter [of A'li to Moa'wiah], this humble, destitute, and incapable individual [*i.e.*, the author], following their example, states that when A'li the Commander of the Faithful had indited the

[109] Qurân, ch. xxvi. 228, *i.e.*, latter half of the last verse.

above recorded letter to Moa'wiah, who duly received it, he despaired of a conclusion of peace. Accordingly the next day the bold and valorous combatants of both parties were drawn out in lines, and ready for a battle. A'li the Commander of the Faithful having placed on his head the joy-boding turban of his prophetic lordship, mounted the charger of that prince, took up a position between the two [opposing] lines, haranguing them in a loud voice and eloquent language, as follows: 'O ye men, whoever sells this day his life to God, as He says, "*Verily Allah hath purchased*,"[110] will often swear concerning this day, saying, "By that God, in whose grasp the life of A'li is, if I had not apprehended that the tenets of the religion and the rights of the Musalmâns would be destroyed by rebels, obstinate and unrighteous men, I would have remained sitting in my house, and would have preferred ease and comfort to strife and war." Now it becomes necessary that we should lead these erring people to the straight road, and I shall invite them to accept the ordinances of the prince of apostles. Be aware that this is a remainder of the disappointment of Bedr, of Ohod, and of the time of [pre-Islamitic] ignorance, which has settled in the aggrieved heart of Moa'wiah, and of which he desires to be liberated this day; attack, therefore, the leaders of the unbelievers, because they have no religion.' The notable Mohâjer, the Anssâr, and well-known inhabitants of the country, then said: 'The small doubt existing in our minds was removed when A'mmâr Yâser was slain, and we learnt as a certainty that Moa'wiah B. Abu Sofiân is a rebel with all his adherents. To-day our intention to follow thee is more intense than ever, and we have girded our loins to do whatsoever thou wishest, persevering firmly in our obedience to thee.' The Amir of the Faithful having applauded these sentiments, then advanced towards the opponents, followed by ten thousand cavalry, consisting of experienced warriors, from the Hejâz and

[110] Qurân, ch. ix. 112. This verse begins thus: '*Verily Allah hath purchased of the true believers their souls and substance, promising them the enjoyment of paradise*,' etc.

from E'râq, with drawn swords. When they had come close to the lines of the antagonists, he said to his friends: 'I shall assail these people; you must keep together, not separate from each other, and your attack must be [unanimous] like that of one man.' Having said these words, he rushed at the enemies, his ten thousand men likewise attacking them and breaking the ranks of the rebels. They slew innumerable foes, and the legs of their horses were dyed with blood; they so paralyzed the forces of Syria that they became weak and could not move. Moa'wiah then turned to A'mru A'ass, and said: 'O father of A'bdullah, we must take hold of the jugular vein of patience to-day that we may boast to-morrow.' A'mru replied: 'Thou speakest the truth, but to-day death is a reality and life a vanity. If the Lord A'li B. Abu Ttâleb makes another onslaught like this, none of us will remain alive.' On that day Mâlek Ashtar prostrated many warriors, but also numerous men of the victorious army were killed by arrows, whereon Mâlek Ashtar, witnessing the scene, began to weep aloud. A'li the Commander of the Faithful then honoured him with his companionship, and asked: 'May God the Most High preserve thy eyes from crying! what is the reason of thy distress?' Mâlek replied: 'I behold numbers who have attained the happiness of martyrdom in serving thy august person, but I have been excluded from that beatitude up to this time.' Then Ali the Commander of the Faithful consoled and praised him.

On that day the two armies stormed like the Indian Ocean, and assailed each other like two mountains of steel; the firmament was obscured by dust; the kettledrums, trumpets, and brass fifes roared, bringing to the mind the verse, '*Verily the shock of the last hour will be a terrible thing*,'[111] and the truth of the words, '*It wanteth little that the heavens be rent*,'[112] was revealed to the hearts of men. The chiefs of Islâm shouted the *Takbyr* into the faces of the enemy, and '*Aid from Allah with a speedy victory*.'[113]

[111] Qurân, ch. xxii., latter part of ver. 1.
[112] *Ibid.*, ch. xix. 92. [113] *Ibid.*, ch. lxi. 13.

The fire of the conflict having commenced to blaze, the lightning scimitars of the warriors caused showers of blood to rain as if from clouds, while their emerald poniards elicited vermilion-coloured water from the bodies of the enemies, defiling the countenance of the azure sky with red wine:

Distich: The arrow-points moving quick like thoughts
Drew brooks of water from men's eyes.

A'li the Commander of the Faithful, placing his foot in the world-conquering stirrup, made an assault like storms and clouds, reciting the verse, '*It wanteth little but that the unbelievers,*'[114] to ward off the Evil-eye. Thus the conflict lasted till the cavalry alighted, placing their knees on the ground, attacking each other with their swords till they broke as well as their lances, and the banners were overturned; moreover, the dust raised became so blinding that the combatants were unable to see each other. On that day no one had a chance to recite the prescribed orisons; and although the poniard-darting sun had thrown a ray of consideration on the western regions, and had disappeared from the sight, the warriors and heroes of both sides continued to fight, grasping each other at last by the necks and ripping open entrails. During that night A'li the Commander of the Faithful looked several times to the sky, saying: 'O God, hearts know Thee, feet are hastening to Thee, and hands are stretched forth imploring Thee to grant their requests. O Cherisher of mankind, judge thou between us and these people, because thou art the best of judges.' It is said that after uttering this prayer he rushed in the darkness of the night at the enemies and was followed by his adherents.

There is a tradition that whenever the Amir of the Faithful had during that night prostrated an enemy with his Dhu-l-fiqâr, he shouted the *Takbyr*, and that one of his intimate companions, who attended on the heaven-aspiring stirrup, and kept an account, found that when

[114] Qurân, ch. lxviii. 51. This verse begins as follows: '*It wanteth little but that the unbelievers strike thee down with their looks,*' etc.

the morning dawned the number of *Takbyrs* had reached five hundred and twenty-three. The author of the 'Mostaqassa' narrates that there is a tradition of Sa'yd Alsamnany in the 'Moa'jjam Kabyr,' according to which Moa'wiah said: 'During the night of horror A'li had slain more than nine hundred combatants with his own hand. Having become despondent during that night, I determined to do one of two things, namely, either to request A'bdullah B. A'bbâs to obtain permission for me from A'li to depart to Mekkah and to sojourn in the sanctuary, or to betake myself to the Qaissar of Rûm [*i.e.*, Byzantium], and going to some island of that country to dwell in peace At last, however, I remembered two distichs recommending patience and endurance in hostilities and battles, wherefore I placed the foot of constancy under the skirt of patience, ready to endure whatever might take place.'—In the history of Aa'thum Kûfy it is recorded that the aged men of Syria uttered many lamentations and wailings during the night of horror, saying: 'Fear God and have pity upon these men who are the remnant of so many thousands; spare women and children, and cease fighting.' These words produced, however, no effect whatever, and the opponents continued to fight till the sun had risen high and numberless people on both sides had been killed. Aa'thum Kûfy states that certain trustworthy men had counted the number of persons slain in this war, and had found it to amount to six thousand. It is stated in the Menâhej Alsâlekyn that thirty-three thousand men perished in the night of horror, whereas in the Mostaqassa it is recorded that two thousand and seventy-one of the victorious army, and seven thousand men, or nearly so, of the adherents of the rebellion and opposition were slain.

The Stratagem of A'mru A'ass.

On this subject there is a tradition that, when in the morning after the night of horror the adherents of truth and of falsehood had not yet [entirely] ceased fighting with

each other, Moa'wiah, perceiving the effects of weakness, defeat, helplessness and despondency that were manifesting themselves in the army of Syria, asked A'mru A'ass: 'O father of A'bdullah, where is the stratagem thou hast kept in reserve? If thou canst not devise some plan, our affairs will perish disastrously!'—According to another statement, Moa'wiah despatched, after the night of horror, an humble letter to A'li the Commander of the Faithful, imploring him to make peace, but that he received an answer full of reproaches, as the reed of explanation has recorded above; then Moa'wiah consulted A'mru A'ass about quelling the dissensions, and acted according to his advice.—In the history of Abu Hanifah Dinwari it is recorded that, when both parties had ceased fighting after the night of horror, and were engaged in burying their dead, A'li the Amir of the Faithful said the same morning to the officers of his army: 'You see what the fight between you and the enemies has come to, nothing but the last breath of life remaining in them. Attack them, therefore, to-morrow "*until Allah judge between us; for He is the best judge*"[115] When these words had been reported to Moa'wiah, he asked A'mru: 'What is thy opinion in this great calamity?' A'mru replied: 'I have, for a day like this, prepared a stratagem and devised a plan, that we must ask something from the people of the Hejâz and E'râq, which, if they agree to it, dissension will arise between them, and if they reject it they will disperse' Moa'wiah asked: 'What is it?' He continued: 'Invite them to the book of God—whose name be exalted and hallowed—that thou mayest attain thy object.'—On the same day, also, the notables of Syria were informed that Asha'th B. Qays had said: 'If you continue to fight as you have done yesterday and before, the Arab nation will be endangered, and their families with their children in danger of perishing.' The Amirs having reported these words to Moa'wiah, he said: 'Asha'th has spoken the truth, because it is certain that if we engage to-morrow in hostilities, the Byzantines will turn

[115] Qurân, ch. vii., end of ver. 85.

towards Syria, and the Persians will devastate and ravage the country of E'râq.' Accordingly the next morning, with the approbation of A'mru, he ordered Qurâns to be suspended from the tops of lances before sunrise. It is said that there were five hundred Qurâns in the army of Moa'wiah, and when the Syrians with the volumes hanging from their lances were standing drawn out in lines, and the day had not yet become bright, the people of E'râq mistook them for banners and standards; after, however, looking for awhile, they discerned the true state of affairs. On this occasion, Fadzl B. Adham stepped out to the front of the centre, and Sheryh Hamdâny to that of the right, and Warqâ B. Ghâreb to that of the left wing of the army of Syria, and shouted: 'O Arabs, for God's sake have mercy on your children and women, because if you do not cease to fight, you will be slain, and your wives with your children will fall into the power of your foes, namely, the Byzantines and the Persians, who will take them away to their countries. Behold the volume of God which is between us and you!' After that, Abu-l-a'ur, mounting a piebald horse, placed a Qurân on his head, stood up between the two [opposing] lines, and shouted: 'O ye people of E'râq, I draw your attention to the contents of the book of God, who is the judge between us and you, that you may act according to it.' When the people of E'râq had understood the allocution of their opponents, Kardûs B. Hâny Bakry said: 'O ye inhabitants of E'râq, be not deceived by the elevation of the Qurâns which the rebels have displayed, because this exhibition is nothing but fraud and hypocrisy.' Sofiân B Thûry then continued: 'We have been the first to adjure the men of Syria by the book of God, and as they would not listen to us, it became licit to us to shed their blood, and if we now fail to comply with their desire, they will likewise consider themselves entitled to spill our blood.' Hereon Khâled B. O'mar and Hussyn B. Nadhar said: 'The decision of A'li the Commander of the Faithful will be acceptable; whatever he advises will be most suitable.' His lordship replied: 'I

am more willing than anyone to comply with the appeal to the book of God the Most High, and herein you likewise agree with me; but this is a stratagem which they have devised, and a fraud they have put forth. By elevating the Qurân, they do not mean to act according to its contents, but being distressed by the war, and despairing of victory or help, they wish by this deception to quell hostilities, and to save their lives from this peril; I, however, shall contend with them, until they agree to what God —whose name be praised—has commanded.' As, however, most of the notables and Amirs of the Commander of the Faithful had taken bribes from Moa'wiah, had become tired of fighting, and were desirous of enjoying rest after many fatigues, they said: 'O Amir of the Faithful, respond to the invitation of Moa'wiah, because he is calling thee to the Divine volume; and we have revolted against O'thmân, as he rejected such proposals. If thou wilt not comply with the request of Moa'wiah, we shall capture thee and surrender thee to the foe!' When the words of his friends had reached this extremity, A'li the Commander of the Faithful exclaimed: '*We belong to Allah, and unto Him we shall return*;[116] to Allah we complain, *and Allah's aid is to be implored* [to enable me to support the misfortune] *which you relate*[117] O Allah, Thou art the judge between us, because Thou art just and not partial.' Meanwhile, envoys from Moa'wiah arrived, bringing Qurâns, and said: 'O father of Hasan, the Syrians say: "Deal with us according to the book of God, because besides it there will be no other decision between us."' Asha'th B. Qays, to whom most of the tribes were subject, and to whom Moa'wiah had sent an enormous sum by way of a bribe, then said: 'O Amir of the Faithful, as we obeyed thee yesterday, so we obey thee also to-day; but Moa'wiah is speaking very just words, obeys the truth, and calls thee to the book of God.' A'li the Amir of the Faithful replied: 'By Allah! I am more acquainted with the book of God than Moa'wiah, A'mru A'ass, and the like of them! This

[116] Qurân, ch. ii. 151. [117] *Ibid.*, ch. xii. 18.

is a stratagem which A'mru has devised.' This information having spread among the troops, most of them commenced to retreat from the opponents, excepting only Mâlek Ashtar, who continued to act and to fight on the right flank as before. When his lordship the recipient of the Vicariate perceived that the troops were returning by detachments, he clapped his hands, saying: 'The son of Hind has become victor!' On this occasion Ebn Lakwâ, with a *number of Zendyqs*[118] *in the army of the Commander of* the Faithful, who were afterwards surnamed *Khowârej*,[119] became turbulent, and said to his lordship: 'It is indispensably necessary to respond to the invitation of Moa'wiah, and in the contrary case it will be necessary to excuse us from becoming opponents.' Thereon his sacred lordship A'li the Commander of the Faithful was obliged, willingly or unwillingly, to comply. The people then said: 'Send a man to recall Mâlek Ashtar, who is engaged in fighting on the right flank.' The Amir of the Faithful then despatched Yazid B. Hâny to call Mâlek Ashtar. When Yazid had conveyed the message to Mâlek, the latter said: 'What time is this to return? Victory and conquest are at hand!' Yazid then hastened to wait on his lordship, and brought him the answer. Meanwhile the shouts of Ashtar and his followers became more loud, and much dust rose, so that the *Khowârej* said to Murtadza A'li: 'We imagine Mâlek is striving and fighting by thy orders.' His lordship replied: 'I have plainly told Yazid that Ashtar should cease from fighting.' Then he again sent Yazid B. Hâny to Ashtar, commanding him to return quickly, because a great disturbance had arisen. When the envoy had delivered his message, Ashtar asked: 'Has this event perhaps resulted from the lifting up of the Qurâns?' Yazid gave an affirmative reply, and Mâlek continued: 'By Allah! at the moment I saw the opponents carrying the volumes on the tops of lances, I knew that dissensions would ensue in our army.'

118 A 'Zendyq' meant at first only a Zoroastrian, an adherent of the 'Zendavesta,' but afterwards any kind of unbeliever.

119 Separatists, insurgents, rebels. See footnote 108.

Then Mâlek ceased to fight, and joining A'li the Commander of the Faithful with the notables of Kûfah and Bossrah, addressed them reproachfully, saying: 'O ye people of E'râq, O ye base and hypocritical crowd! By Allah! you have brought an injury upon yourselves which you will never be able to make good. Had you hindered the lifting of these Qurâns, you would have conquered the enemies! Let me, however, now settle the affair with them.' They replied: 'We shall not be partners in sin with thee.' Mâlek then spoke harshly, whereon they used insulting language to him, whipped his horse, and he likewise opened the flood-gates of objurgation, retorting in the same manner. When A'li the Amir of the Faithful perceived the eagerness of the *Khowârej* to comply with the demand of Moa'wiah, he told Asha'th B. Qays to go to the possessors of standards, and order them to remove the tokens of hostility. Asha'th obeyed orders, and when he came near the Rebya'h people, O'mayr B. Adoubah said to him: 'O Asha'th, lovest thou the people of Syria, in whose blood we have been bathing?' Then he struck the neck of the horse of Asha'th with his blade, saying: 'There is no command except from Allah.' Asha'th replied: 'Put back thy sword into its scabbard. The Syrians have invited us to a thing, to which, if they had delayed it, we would ourselves have called them.' On that occasion Moa'wiah said to the prominent men and nobles of Syria: 'The time of hostilities between us and the Hejâz and the E'râq people has become protracted. Each of these two factions believes that the right is on its side. We have invited them to the command of the Divine volume; if they accept it, that is just what we desire, and in the contrary case, we shall be excused before God.' Then he wrote a letter, the contents of which are as follows, to A'li the Commander of the Faithful: 'The first who will be called to account for these hostilities will be ourselves and thyself. Now I request thee, for the sake of our [old] associations, and for the removal of grief from our breasts, that a wise man may be appointed on thy part, and another on mine, to judge

between me and thee according to what is written in the glorious Qurân and lauded Furqân.[120] Thou must abide by the decision of the Qurân if thou believest therein.' The Amir of the Faithful wrote in reply: 'Thou invitest me to the decision of the Qurân, but I know that thou wilt not act in conformity therewith. We have responded to the command of God the Most High, contrary to thyself, and whoever agrees not with the Qurân has verily gone far astray.'

It is narrated in several traditions that Moa'wiah sent Habyb B. Muslim as an envoy to A'li the Commander of the Faithful with the following message: 'As the book of God the Most High cannot speak, thou art to select a man, and I another, to decide between us. If thou art elected, I shall assent to thy becoming the Khalifah, but if they appoint me, thou must not demur to their decision. Should they elect another man, and not one of us, we must submit to him.' When Habyb B. Muslim had delivered the message, Asha'th B. Qays said: 'O Amir of the Faithful, Moa'wiah is making a very just proposal.' Hasan B. Mundhar having expressed the same opinion, Shaqyq B. Thûr said: 'O Amir of the Faithful, most of our brave men and cavaliers having been slain, thou must take pity upon those whom the sword has spared.' Moa'wiah knew that in the victory-allied army of the Amir of the Faithful the Yemânis were preponderant, he therefore indicted a conciliatory letter to Asha'th B. Qays, who was one of their chiefs, and promised to pay him one hundred thousand dirhems in case peace should be established. Asha'th perused the epistle of Moa'wiah, and was beguiled by the promise of mundane wealth; he therefore assembled the tribes Azd, Rebya'h, and Asha'r, whom he advised to cease hostilities, whereon they became so biased against Ashtar that they said: 'If Mâlek offers opposition to us, we shall tear the limbs of his body to pieces.' In that assembly the Yemânis also said: 'If we continue to fight, not one of us will remain alive.' The Bani Bakr B. Wâyl, being of the

[120] 'Divider,' because it divides and separates truth from falsehood.

same opinion, said: 'The men have become so distressed by fighting that they unanimously acknowledge their inability to continue hostilities.' On this occasion A'bdullah B. Alhâreth Alttây—who was so religious that he had during twenty years performed his matutinal devotions with the religious ablution of his evening prayers,[121] and who had received sixteen heavy wounds in the night of horror—went to the tent of his lordship the Amir, who, having received him honourably and respectfully, asked: 'O A'bdullah, how feelest thou at present?' He replied: 'O Amir of the Faithful, I am of opinion that not more than one day, or nearly one day, of my life remains.' Tears started in the eyes of the Shâh and recipient of the Vicariate, and he said: 'Be of good cheer and keep thy heart bright, because thou wilt receive the mercy, pardon, and reward of the Cherisher, because thy resurrection will take place in the company of Mohâjer, Anssâr, and great martyrs.' After that A'bdullah continued: 'O Amir of the Faithful, it is rumoured that dissension has arisen among thy companions, and that they are attempting to induce thee to conclude peace with Moa'wiah. Do not by any means act according to their words and cease hostilities.' The Amir of the Faithful asked: 'With what army and with what helper am I to wage war against Moa'wiah? Knowest thou not that although the apostle possessed the strength of forty prophets, he forbore during three years from openly inviting anyone to accept Islâm, and that he abstained ten years from fighting after he had received his mission as a prophet? When, however, he had gained numerous partisans and helpers he was commanded to fight. If I can likewise obtain friends and assistants I shall wage war, but in the contrary case I shall strike my hand upon the jugular vein of patience, as prophets and saints have done. O A'bdullah, his lordship the apostle—u. w. bl.—has informed me of the events happening and about to happen,

[121] This implies that his state of ceremonial purity was such as not to require a fresh ablution for his morning prayers, or it might imply that he prayed all night.

and I shall refer my complaints against the people to the Court of monotheism, nor shall I ever undertake anything which may make me unworthy of the Emâmate.' A'bdullah continued: 'I bear witness that there is no other legitimate Emâm with knowledge appointed between God and His worshippers except thyself. Blessed is he who follows and obeys thee, and miserable is the wretch who refuses to be subject to thee.'

Historians narrate that when the stratagem of A'mru A'ass had been promulged, Qurân-memorizers of the people of E'râq and Syria assembled, taking up a position between the two antagonistic armies, and engaged in reciting verses of the Qurân. They arrived at the decision that the election to the important office of the Khalifate be delegated to two wise men. The people of Syria then said: 'Let A'mru A'ass be the judge on our part.' Asha'th B. Qays with his adherents said: 'In this matter our choice has fallen upon Abu Mûsa Asha'ry.' His lordship the Amir then said: 'I place no trust in the foresight and opinion of Abu Mûsa; on my part A'bdullah B. A'bbâs must be the judge.' The *Khowârej* said: 'We swear by God that we make no distinction between thee and A'bdullah, and from thy words it appears that thou desirest thyself to be the judge in this matter, whereas our intention is to appoint a man who is equally unbiased towards thee and towards Moa'wiah.' The Amir of the Faithful asked: 'How is it that the Syrians have appointed A'mru A'ass, although they know him to be closely connected with Moa'wiah?' The *Khowârej* replied: 'Everyone knows his own advantage best; it is convenient for us that Abu Mûsa should be judge on our part.' A'li the Commander of the Faithful continued: 'Mâlek Ashtar being likewise worthy of this duty, I appoint him to be a judge' Asha'th B. Qays, who was the head and front of the *Khowârej*, then asked: 'How can he be made judge, he having kindled the flames of war and contention?' The Amir of the Faithful replied: 'There can be no fault in appointing him; and what decision contrary to the Divine book will he give?' Asha'th said

'His decision will be to allow him to strike with the sword, and to incite the people to fight against each other, so that he may attain his object.' The upshot of this discussion was that the Amir of the Faithful and all intelligent men, such as Ahnaf B. Qays and others, said: 'Abu Mûsa Asha'ry is not capable of performing such a duty, and another discerning, shrewd man should be appointed who will be able to cope with A'mru A'ass in this matter, and shall not by his wiles be induced to swerve from the straight road.' The *Khowârej* would, however, by no means agree to this proposal, and selected no other man than Abu Mûsa. They then despatched a man in search of him, because he was at that time sitting in a corner, and not taking part in any affairs. When he heard that both parties had concluded peace, he exclaimed: 'Praise be to Allah, the lord of both worlds!' Having been told that he was appointed judge, he replied: '"*We belong to Allah, and unto Him we shall return.*"'[122] Afterwards Abu Mûsa made his appearance in the camp of A'li the Commander of the Faithful, and attained the honour of kissing his hand. Being displeased with the turn affairs had taken, every one of the great companions who arrived in that assembly tried to advise him to be on his guard, shrewd and impartial in his position as a judge, so that Abu Mûsa at last became angry, and said: 'If you entertain suspicions about me, you must select another man for this business.' Mâlek said: 'Thou art the man who hast, on the occasion when Hasan the son of A'li arrived in Kûfah, invited the people to follow thee and to pay thee allegiance whilst preaching. and hast said: "To agree with A'li Murtadza will become an occasion of turbulence."' Abu Mûsa replied: 'The case was such, but this day the fire of that day is burning me, because in this affair I am your friend, and in this sea I have been immersed with you.'

When the conclusion had been arrived at to delegate the election of the Khalifah to the negotiations of two judges, A'li the Amir of the Faithful, with the notables of E'râq,

[122] Qurân, ch. ii. 151.

and Moa'wiah, with the prominent men of Syria, met in an assembly between the two armies to get a document written out to that effect. A'bdullah B. Abu Râfi', who was the writer of A'li the Commander of the Faithful, was thereon ordered to draw up a few lines on that subject. Then A'bdullah wrote: 'This is the arrangement which A'li the Amir of the Faithful—p. o. h.—has made' Moa'wiah interrupted, saying: 'What a bad fellow I must be, that *although I know A'li to be the Amir of the Faithful, I* nevertheless fight with him!' A'mru A'ass then said: 'The expression "Amir of the Faithful" must be blotted out, and his name with that of his father is to be written.' Ahnaf B. Qays said: 'O Amir of the Faithful, do not allow this expression which implies the Emâmship over the Musalmâns to be expunged, because I apprehend that if it be blotted out thou wilt never recover it.' A'li the Amir of the Faithful said: 'Allah is great! The apostle of Allah was right concerning this event which has taken place, because on the day of Hodaybiah, when I indicted the treaty of peace, I wrote: "This is the peace which Muhammad the apostle of Allah is concluding with Sohayl B A'mru"'—or, according to nobler tradition, 'with the people of Mekkah'—'whereon Ebn A'mru said. "Blot out the words 'the apostle of Allah,' and write 'Muhammad B. A'bdullah,' because if we considered him to be the prophet of Allah we would not have impeded him *from* entering Mekkah and visiting the sacred localities." The lord of apostleship then said: "Ali, blot it out, for thou wilt fare one day as I fare this day" At present that day has come, therefore, O A'bdullah, write as Moa'wiah desires.' Then A'bdullah wrote on the page. 'This is what A'li B Abu Ttâleb and Moa'wiah B. Abu Sofiân have agreed to.' Then he completed the treaty of peace, which was to the following purport: 'A'li B. Abu Ttâleb, with the people of the Hejâz and of E'râq who are his friends, and Moa'wiah B. Abu Sofiân, with the people of Syria who are standing up *for his rights, have agreed to act according to the decision* of the Qurân from the beginning to the end of it, not to

swerve from its contents, but to strive to keep alive whatever the Qurân keeps alive, and to deaden what it has deadened. A'li, with his partisans, has agreed that in this matter A'bdullah B. Qays, namely, Abu Mûsa Asha'ry, shall be the judge and superintendent in this matter; and Moa'wiah has with his followers agreed that on the part of their tribes A'mru A'ass should be the judge and superintendent. A'li and Moa'wiah have made a covenant with, and exacted a promise from, Abu Mûsa and from A'mru A'ass, that they will make the Qurân their guide, and will not swerve from the contents of the book of the Lord, so that they will judge according to what is written in the Qurân, but that in any difficulty which cannot be solved by the word of God they will have recourse to the *Sonna* of the prophet, and will act according to the injunction of the best of created beings—u. w. bl.' A'bdullah B. Qays and A'mru B. A'ass [on their part likewise] exacted a promise from the Amir of the Faithful and from Moa'wiah that they would not swerve from their decision, which would be according to the Qurân, in conformity with the truth and with the *Sonna*. After both these judges had fulfilled their duties according to the dictates of honesty and probity, their property, families and children were to be safe from any injuries; but in case one of the two judges should die before their judgment had been delivered, the followers of A'li and the adherents of Moa'wiah were to elect another pious and righteous man in his room. In case the judges should fail to come to an understanding in the month Ramadzân, when the time allotted for the decision terminates, and should not have arranged the affair of the Khalifate, both parties would be at liberty to renew hostilities; and whoever offers any opposition to this arrangement acts unjustly and dishonestly; his wickedness is to be put a stop to with the unanimous consent of the whole nation.—When the treaty had been completed the following signatures were appended to it: 'A'li testifies to what is written in this document, with his sons Alhasan and Alhusain, and A'bdullah B. Abbâs, and A'bdullah B. Ja'fer

B. Abu Ttâleb.' Also Asha'th B. Qays, with many others of the chief adherents of A'li the Amir of the Faithful, affixed their glorious names. Certain notables of Syria likewise wrote their names. At the bottom of the page it was recorded that it had been written on the twenty-third of Safar in the year thirty.[123]

It is recorded in the history of Abu Hanifah Dinwari that when Asha'th B. Qays requested Mâlek Ashtar to affix also his testimony to the treaty, Mâlek replied: 'May the right hand of Ashtar [*i.e.*, my hand] be cut off and his left be paralyzed if he appends his name to this document!' Asha'th continued: 'Unless thou writest it, I shall not be pleased with thee.' Mâlek, however, replied: 'Who art thou, and what boots thy pleasure? Be pleased if thou likest, or be not' There being a number of Amirs, such as A'dy B. Hâtim Ttây, and others, present in that assembly, Asha'th said: 'If I had no regard for the respect due to great Arabs, I would have replied as it befits thee.' Mâlek Ashtar continued: 'The sword of my tongue is sharper than thine, and my teeth more efficient than thine, my clan is bigger than thine, and I am the friend of the Amir of the Faithful, but thou art his enemy; after all, thou art not one of his foes, but a tanner of hides and a scraper of skins, or the leader of one man.' These reproachful words were addressed to Asha'th, because he was a native of Yemen, most of whom are engaged in these occupations, and, being uttered in a high tone, they gave such offence to Asha'th that he grasped the hilt of his sword, and Mâlek did so likewise, whereon Ebrâhim B. Mâlek also drew his sword from the scabbard, but his father pacified him, then addressed Asha'th, and said: 'If thou hadst been a man of any account thou wouldst not have apostatized! Thou hast first unwillingly accepted Islâm, and hast after that willingly returned to the tenets of infidels and idolaters, afterwards again becoming a Musalmân for fear of thy life.' When this was reported to the Amir of the Faithful, he said: 'O Mâlek, reconcile these people

[123] October 26, A.D. 650.

as I have done, for his lordship the apostle has informed me of what will take place with Asha'th, and what his sons will do to my progeny.' By these words the Amir of the Faithful alluded to the fact that Muhammad B. Asha'th waged war against Husain the Amir of the Faithful at Kerbelâ, and that in the same locality Esahâq B. Asha'th also withheld water from his lordship.

It is related in the 'Futûh' of Abu Mukhnaf that when it was brought to the notice of A'li the Commander of the Faithful that Ashtar was displeased with the contents of the document of peace, he replied: 'I swear by God that I also was not pleased, and desired that you also should not give your assent; but seeing that you were unanimous and agreed, I likewise assented, and I do not consider it worthy of myself to recant after having complied. Would that there had been among us one more like Ashtar, to persist in finishing the conquest of the enemies, and to liberate me from all this trouble.' It is said that when the document of the agreement had been completed Asha'th B. Qays took it, and circulated it among all the Arabs who were in that camp; when the U'zza tribe had been made acquainted with the contents of it, two brothers belonging thereto raised the shout, 'No one but Allah is to be obeyed!' and attacked the army of Syria till both of them were slain. When Asha'th read out the document to the Murâr tribe, Ssâleh B. Shaqyq, who was one of their celebrated men, exclaimed: 'Allah alone judges, *although the idolaters be averse* [thereto].'[124] Most of the tribes agreed to this sentiment, and lengthened the tongue of reproach towards Asha'th B. Qays.

It is related in some histories that A'bdullah B. Abu Râfi', the amanuensis of the Amir of the Faithful, had written the covenant of peace for the Syrians, and O'mayr B. A'bâd Alkalby, the writer of Moa'wiah, for the people of E'râq, the contents being the same. Then the people of E'râq appended their signatures, and the opponents theirs to their respective copies, the people of Syria affixing theirs

[124] Qurân, ch. lxi., end of ver. 9.

after the adherents of the cousin of the apostle—u. w. bl. When both documents had thus been completed, a man of the army of A'li the Commander of the Faithful, and belonging to the Rebya'h tribe, mounted his steed in the greatest haste and asked for some water. When it had been given him he rushed among the troops of Moa'wiah, and wounding several men, returned again. Then he asked again for water, and having drunk some, recited some verses in the rajaz measure, and attacking the army of the Commander of the Faithful, likewise wounded some men of it. Thus he capered from one army to the other several times, and shouted: 'O ye men, be aware that I am independent of A'li and of Moa'wiah, and of the decision of the two judges! There is no decision except that of God—whose glory be magnified—*although the idolaters may be averse* [thereto].'[125] He was, however, killed in the act of assailing the army of the Amir of the Faithful, and the first *Khâreji* slain was he.

After the negotiations had been completed, A'li the Commander of the Faithful marched back to Kûfah, and Moa'wiah in the direction of Syria. Arrangements were also made that Abu Mûsa Asha'ry should, with a number of prominent men of the Hejâz and of E'râq, as well as A'mru A'ass, with the great Arabs and men of Syria, march to Daumatu-j-jandal, which is a locality between E'râq and Syria, in order there to arrive at a decision concerning the office of the Khalifate [by means of the two judges who had been appointed for the purpose]. A'li the Commander of the Faithful despatched Sharyh B. Hâny with five thousand of his intimate friends to start to the appointed locality, and A'bdullah B. A'bbâs to accompany them for the purpose of watching the proceedings. Moa'wiah sent Abu-l-a'ur Alsalmy and Shorahbyl B. Samatt Alkindy with those who accompanied A'mru A'ass. According to some traditions, eight hundred men accompanied the two judges to Daumatu-j-jandal, each party sending four hundred. It is said that during the march A'bdullah B. A'bbâs

[125] Qurân, ch. lxi., end of ver. 9.

and Ahnaf B. Qays repeatedly advised Abu Mûsa, saying: 'Be not deceived by the words of A'mru A'ass, and do not forestall him in any manner by giving thy decision.' He assented, and their minds were set at rest; but as he was a very artless man, A'mru A'ass beguiled him, as will soon appear from the following narrative, if Allah the Most High willeth.

The Meeting of the Two Parties at Daumatu-j-jandal and the Contentions between Abu Mûsa Asha'ry and A'mru A'ass.

When both parties, namely, the adherents of vanity and the partisans of truth, had arrived in Daumatu-j-jandal A'mru A'ass met Abu Mûsa Asha'ry, and exalting him above himself, said: 'O brother, the time of separation has become protracted; may God the Most High and Glorious vouchsafe a blessing on the affair which is the cause of dissension' A'mru A'ass paid him daily visits showed him great respect, sat opposite to him on his two knees discussing matters with him, and when Abu Mûsa rode out he took hold of his stirrup; when he rose A'mru placed his sandals before him, and strove to show him respect also in other ways, telling him likewise that in the prerogative of precedence in Islâm, as well as in the theoretical and practical knowledge of it, no one of his contemporaries equalled him. He used so many tricks and deceptions that he beguiled and placed him under obligations to himself. When the [assigned] period had elapsed without the two judges having enounced a decision, the people having become wearied and distressed, said to Abu Mûsa and to A'mru A'ass: 'This affair has been protracted to a great length, whereas you have up to this time not said a word concerning the affair of the Khalifate, and given no judgment. We fear that dissensions will be revived, and that we shall again revert to hostilities.' The two judges endeavoured to quiet the people, and A'mru said privately to Abu Músa: 'Thou hast before me attended

upon the apostle of Allah and tasted the sweet as well as the bitter vicissitudes of the times. Be aware that I shall not act contrary to what thou deemest right.' Abu Mûsa replied: 'O A'mru, something has passed through my mind which is right, and will meet with the approbation of the lord of majesty—whose glory be extolled. It is such that if thou assentest thereto it will become the occasion of thy deliverance [from embarrassment].' A'mru asked: 'What is it?' Abu Mûsa replied: 'A'bdullah the son of O'mar is a man adorned with piety and innocence; he has selected retirement and loneliness, he sits in a corner, has in these times abstained from hostilities, and has defiled his hands with the blood of no one. How would it be if we were to place into the grasp of his power the solving and tying, the administering and governing of the whole nation?' A'mru asked: 'What sayest thou about Moa'wiah?' Abu Mûsa replied: 'Moa'wiah is not worthy of the Khalifate.' A'mru queried: 'Knowest thou that O'thman has been unjustly slain?' Having received an affirmative reply, A'mru continued: 'Moa'wiah is the heir of O'thmân, so that if thou assentest to his Khalifate and the people blame thee on this account thou must excuse thyself and say: "I have found Moa'wiah to be the heir of O'thmân, and God the Most High says in the glorious Qurân: '*And whoever shall be slain unjustly, We have given his heir power* [to demand satisfaction].'"[126] He is, moreover, the brother of Habybah the mother of the faithful,[127] and has other prerogatives also.' Abu Mûsa replied: 'Fear God, and be aware that if the nobility of any man would render him worthy of the Khalifate, the people would assent to the appointment of one of the sons of Abrahah B. Ssabbâh, the Hemyarite, because the nobles and dignitaries of the [Arab] world were under their command; but how can the nobility of Moa'wiah be compared with that of A'li Murtadza? Moreover, the expression "Amir of the Faithful" is more befitting to A'li, O'mar, and O'thmân,

[126] Qurân, ch. xvii. 35.
[127] Each of the wives of the prophet was thus called.

than to Moa'wiah. Thou hast been under their command as well as all the Arabs of the world. If thou agreest with me, we shall appoint the son of O'mar to the Khalifate, thus reviving the ordinance of O'mar B. Alkhattâb.' A'mru rejoined: 'My own son A'bdullah is likewise endowed with virtue and piety, enjoying likewise precedence in the exile [with the prophet]. Why shouldst thou not assent to his being appointed Khalifah?' Abu Mûsa replied: 'Thou speakest the truth, but the skirts of innocence have been defiled by these hostilities. Come, let us establish Ttayyib, the son of Ttayyib, on the couch of the Khalifate, and deliver the people from this misery and calamity.' A'mru replied: 'He is not worthy of this post, because no one is deserving to be Khalifah who takes with one hand and gives with the other.' Abu Mûsa continued: 'O A'mru, after the people of Islâm had become wearied of warring and fighting they have appointed us two to be judges, do not therefore again precipitate them into the vortex of destruction, but propose something that will pacify the nation.' A'mru said: 'The exigencies of the time require that we should remove A'li—u. w. p.—and Moa'wiah from the government, and delegate the appointment of a Khalifah to a consultative assembly, that a man worthy of the dignity may be elected.' Abu Mûsa approved of this suggestion; but when he had returned to his domicile, the son of A'bbas took him aside, and exclaimed: 'I swear by God, Abu Mûsa, I am of opinion that A'mru A'ass has beguiled thee. Now I tell thee, by way of request, that after both of you have agreed in anything, thou art not to forestall him in speaking [further on the subject], because he is a treacherous man, and after thou hast assented he will again offer such opposition to thee as will raise a disturbance that no one will be able to quell.' Abu Mûsa replied: 'We have agreed in a matter in which we shall not oppose each other.'

The next day Abu Mûsa Asha'ry, having gone to the cathedral mosque with all the people, invited A'mru to mount the pulpit and to explain to the congregation what both had agreed upon; A'mru, however, replied: 'Allah

forbid! Thou art more aged and superior to myself. I shall not precede thee.' Then Abu Mûsa ascended the pulpit at the request of his accommodating friend, offered praises to God the Most High, salutations to His prophet —u. w. bl.—to his family, and said: 'The welfare of the people and the regulation of affairs require us to exonerate the Lord A'li and Moa'wiah from the burden of the government and the Khalifate, and to delegate this affair to a consultative assembly, that one worthy of that important office may be elected for our own welfare.' Then, taking off his ring from his finger, he added: 'As I have removed this ring from my finger, so I remove A'li—u. w. p. —and Moa'wiah from the Khalifate.' Then he came down from the pulpit, and A'mru A'ass, mounting it, said: 'This man has removed his own friend from the Khalifate, as the people have [now] seen, and I have appointed my friend, namely Moa'wiah, to be Khalifah, because he is the heir of O'thmân, is desirous to avenge his blood, and is the person most worthy to sit in the place of the Khalifah who has been unjustly slain.' These words produced an uproar in the assembly, and Abu Mûsa insulted A'mru, saying: 'May God the Most High withhold His grace from thee; for thou hast been treacherous, hast spoken a lie, and hast committed a sin, because we have made no such agreement. Thou art like an ass who, if he be loaded with books, will hang out his tongue, and if he be left alone will also hang it out.' A'mru retorted: 'Thou contradictest thyself, and thou art the donkey loaded with books.' A'bdu-r-rahman B. Abu Bakr then said: 'O Abu Mûsa, would that thou hadst rather died than pronounced such a decision!' A'bdullah B. A'bbâs interrupted: 'It is not the fault of Abu Mûsa, but the crime of the man who has imputed this matter to him.' Then Sharyh B. Hâny struck A'mru A'ass on the head with his whip, but the people crowded around him and consoled him. Sharyh, however, was ever afterwards repenting that he had not struck him with his sword. Some of those present in the assembly then shouted: 'There is no judge but Allah. What connection of Abu Mûsa and of

A'mru A'ass is there with the decision of God?' Some of the people of E'râq then desired to wreak vengeance, and, drawing their swords, intended to begin the contest at the foot of the pulpit. A'dy B. Hâtim Ttây, however, opposed them, saying: 'To fight without the permission of the Emâm of the period is not allowed.' This remark displeased the people of the Hejâz, but specially the Bani Hâshem, who then recited the verses composed by A'bbâs B. A'bdu-l-muttalleb when homage was paid to Abu Bakr, and these are as follows:

'I know not why the Khalifate departed
From Hâshem, and then from Abu-l-Hasan.[128]
Was he not the first of the prosperous tribe,
The best acquainted with revelation and tradition,
Not the nearest relative of the prophet,
Not the help of Jebrâil in washing and shrouding him?
Who except him possesses all these qualities
Of high degree among the people of the prophet?'

It is related that some Qurân-readers who were present in that assembly lengthened the tongue of reproach towards Abu Mûsa, saying: 'A'li the Commander of the true believers knew thy folly, and therefore disliked thy being appointed judge.' Then a number of the partisans of the Shâh and receptacle of the Vicariate desired to attack Abu Mûsa. He fled for his life in the company of A'mru A'ass and Abu-l-a'ur and their followers to Damascus, where they saluted Moa'wiah as Khalifah. A'bdullah B. A'bbâs, however, with Sharyh B. Hâny and their adherents, made haste to wait upon A'li the Commander of the Faithful, and informed him of the state of affairs.—It is related in the 'Mostaqassa' that when the people had returned from the locality of the decision [*i.e.*, Daumatu-j-jandal] and had waited on A'li—o. w. p.—they mounted pulpits and cursed Moa'wiah, and A'mru A'ass, and Abu-l-a'ur, and Habyb B. Muslim Qahary, and Dzohâk B. Qays, and Wolyd B. O'tbah, and Abu Mûsa Asha'ry. When this information reached Moa'wiah he ordered A'li the Commander of the Faithful—u. w. p.—the Emâm Hasan, the Emâm Husain, the son of A'bbâs, and Mâlek Ashtar to be cursed.

[128] By Abu-l-Hasan, *i.e.*, 'Father of Hasan,' A'li is meant.

Death of Mâlek Ashtar, and Killing of Muhammad B. Abu Bakr, by the Predestination of the Ever-living Greatest One.

It has been jotted down before by the reed of explanation, that A'li the Commander of the Faithful had removed Qays B. Sa'd B. A'bâdah from the governorship of Egypt, and had despatched Muhammad B. Abu Bakr to take charge of it. When Muhammad arrived in Egypt Qays surrendered the city, and said: 'Deal gently with the faction which has not yet paid homage to A'li the Commander of the Faithful, and reconcile it; but specially try to gain the favour of such and such persons, because our permanence in this country depends upon their aid and partisanship' When, however, Qays had reached the abode of the Khalifate, Muhammad had also forgotten the admonition of that kind adviser, and several times despatched his troops against those partisans of O'thmân, who opposed them and put them to flight. At that time a man was living in Egypt, Moa'wiah B. Khidyi' by name, who always bore enmity to A'li the Commander of the Faithful. When the hostilities at Ssafyn had terminated and the negotiations of the two judges had come to an end, Moa'wiah B. Khidyi' became desirous of avenging the blood of O'thmân, and, collecting a number of vagabonds and low fellows who agreed with him, excited disturbances in that country. Muhammad thereon represented the state of affairs to A'li the Commander of the Faithful, who summoned Mâlek Ashtar, whom he had, after his return from Ssafyn, appointed Governor of Mesopotamia, in order to hold a consultation with him on that subject. Accordingly Mâlek appointed a lieutenant in that province, and was made happy by attaining the honour of kissing the feet of the Commander of the Faithful, who then said to him: 'Muhammad B. Abu Bakr is in the vigour of youth, but possesses no experience. We desire to relieve him from the government of Egypt. What is thy opinion in this matter?' Mâlek replied: 'No one is more worthy of that

post than Qays B. Sa'd.' The latter, however, having been removed without cause, demurred to his being reappointed to the post of governor. Accordingly his lordship appointed Qays to govern the provinces of Adharbâyjân, and said to Mâlek: 'Thou art worthy to govern Egypt, and I give instructions to everyone whom I appoint to an office, which they often disregard; but as thou art endowed with a firm purpose and a penetrating discernment, thou canst act according to them, and standest not in need of any instructions.' Mâlek having placed the finger of acceptance on his eye, A'li the Commander of the Faithful, having written the letters patent of his appointment, in which he had greatly praised him, said: 'Depart in the greatest haste to that country, so that by thy efforts the disturbances may be quelled.' Mâlek departed according to the order from Kûfah, and Moa'wiah having been apprised of the fact, the smoke of perturbation rose in his brain, because he knew for a certainty that if the Amir of the Faithful were to march against him from Kûfah, and Mâlek Ashtar from Egypt, he could not abide in the country of Syria. At that time there was a landholder, a friend of Moa'wiah, who dwelt in a district situated on the road to Egypt. After some consideration Moa'wiah indited the following letter to the said landholder: 'Mâlek Ashtar is going to Egypt, and there is no doubt that he will pass through thy district; thou must hasten to meet him, prepare a banquet for him, and, when the opportunity presents itself, throw some lethal poison in his food and make him eat it.' The landholder having gladly assented to the request of Moa'wiah, hastened to wait on Mâlek as soon as he arrived in that neighbourhood, and having performed various services to him, said: 'I fear the *Khowârej* people, and stand in need of the help of a man like thee.' Mâlek then alighted at the house of the landholder, but that accursed fellow mixed some poison with honey, which he offered to that rank-breaking hero, who, swallowing it, immediately expired. Before the death of Mâlek, Moa'wiah had said to his people: 'Mâlek has been sent by A'li to govern Syria.

but I fear him more than A'li. Pray to the Granter of Requests that He may make an end of his wickedness.' According the Syrians prayed till the news of the death of Mâlek arrived, whereon Moa'wiah said to the people · 'A'li possessed two right hands, one of which was Hâshem B. O'tbah B. Abu Woqqâss, and the other Mâlek Ashtar. The former was cut off in the hostilities of Ssafyn, and the latter was annihilated in consequence of your prayers.' He also said: 'God the Most High possesses armies, one of which consists of honey-bees.' When the information of the death of Mâlek had reached the blessed audition of A'li the Commander of the True Believers, sorrow and grief having overpowered the mind of his lordship, he wept much.

In some books it is related that when the information of the death of Mâlek, and of the sorrow Muhammad B. Abu Bakr felt for being disgraced, had reached the abode of the Khalifate, his lordship sent a letter to Muhammad B. Abu Bakr, the contents of which were as follows: 'I have been informed of thy grief on account of my sending Mâlek [to govern Egypt], I have, however, not done this because I found thy administration deficient, but my intention in removing thee and appointing Mâlek was to make thee governor of a province which, although of great extent and prosperity, possesses also a good climate, and is more easy to govern, so that thou wouldst spend thy life at ease. The man whom I appointed to be Governor of Egypt [*i.e.*, Mâlek Ashtar] was of a humane character, although ready to wreak vengeance on foes; but I am now informed that, having completed his term of life, he has been received into the proximity of Divine mercy, remain, therefore, on the throne of thy administration, govern the country wisely, oppose enemies, invite the people to the straight path, and fail not to invoke the aid of God the Most High, that He may favour thee with His grace and prosper all thy undertakings.'

When after the death of Mâlek Ashtar the mind of A'li the Commander of the Faithful became engrossed with the

affairs of the *Khowdrej*, Moa'wiah was very glad, and considering the opportunity to be a good one, despatched, according to a former promise, A'mru A'ass with six thousand men to subjugate the province of Egypt. When A'mru A'ass arrived in the region of Egypt, and Moa'wiah B. Khidyi' with his adherents had joined him, he sent the following message to Muhammad B. Abu Bakr: 'Depart from this country in peace; it being known not only to thyself, but evident to the whole nation, that the blood of O'thmân is on thy neck.' Muhammad replied: 'The murder of O'thmân is not of such an account, and so adhering to my skirt, that I should be in need of excusing myself to thee, thy share in that act having far exceeded any efforts of mine. I shall slay thee in the same way as I have slain O'thmân, if Allah the Most High willeth.' Then A'mru knew that there was no other remedy except hostilities; he made preparations for them, whilst Muhammad B. Abu Bakr, on his part, appointed Kenânah, who had been the first to strike O'thmân with a sword, to wage war against the army of Syria, despatching him with a portion of his troops as a vanguard; and A'mru sent A'bdu-r-rahman B. Abu Bakr to oppose him. After both parties had encountered each other, fighting with swords and poniards, Kenânah routed the army of Syria. When A'bdu-r-rahman had returned to A'mru A'ass, the latter said to Moa'wiah B. Khidyi': 'Go and fight against thy son.'—Ebn Hamdân and Muhammad B. Jarir-ut-Tabari [the historians] state that Kenânah was the son of Moa'wiah B. Khidyi', but other chroniclers assert that he was the son of Bashir.—In fine, Moa'wiah went to attack Kenânah, put his troops to flight, and Kenânah himself also perished. Ebn Hamdân states that in the battle Kenânah was slain by his own father, Moa'wiah, who said to him on that occasion. 'Hadst thou not been one of the murderers of O'thmân, I would not have killed thee.' After Kenânah had been slain, the troops who were with Muhammad B. Abu Bakr dispersed; whereon he betook himself alone to a ruin for a hiding place, but was discovered by Moa'wiah B.

Khidyi' and slain, his corpse having been placed into the abdomen of a horse or donkey and burnt. A'mru, having entered Egypt, then began to govern it with difficulty.

It is said that when A'mru A'ass was marching to Egypt, Muhammad B. Abu Bakr, having obtained the information, asked for reinforcements from A'li the Commander of the Faithful, but his endeavours to induce the people of Kûfah to assist him having proved of no avail, he turned his face to the Qiblah of prayer, and said: 'O God, appoint over these people a man who will never have mercy upon them.' Or [according to others] he said: 'O Allah, appoint over this population a Thaqfy slave.' The prayer of the Shah and refuge of the Vicariate met with a response, for during that very night Hajjâj B. Yusuf Thaqfy, called Hajjâj the tyrant, was born, according to the statements of most historians, and he inflicted great calamities on the denizens of Kûfah. It is said that Hajjâj was born in the year 42.[129] When that which had befallen Muhammad B. Abu Bakr had reached the august hearing of A'li the Commander of the Faithful, he became very sorrowful, and wrote on this subject a letter to A'bdullah B. A'bbâs, who was at time engaged in controlling Bossrah, and to whom he manifested his grief. A'bdullah B. Abbâs then left Zyâd B. Abihi as his lieutenant in Bossrah, and joined A'li the Amir of the Faithful, vowing that he would never separate from him.

Rebellion of the Hypocrites, and Moa'wiah B. Abu Sofiân sends his Adherents to Mesopotamia, to Yemen, to the Hejâz, and to E'râq.

After Muhammad B. Abu Bakr had been killed, A'mru A'ass ruled in Egypt, and some injury having been inflicted upon the foundations of the citadel of the Khalifate, Moa'wiah appointed A'bdullah Hadzramy to subjugate Bossrah, and when he reached that province Zyâd B Abihi, whom B. A'bbas had appointed his lieutenant, concealed himself. When A'li the Commander of the Faithful was

[129] A.H. 42 began on April 26, A.D. 662.

informed of this state of affairs, he despatched Aa'yn B. Mukhâshi' to attack A'bdullah, who, however, vanquished and slew him. Then his lordship the Amir of the Faithful sent Ḥârethah B. Qudâmah to the war, and a conflict between the parties having taken place when he arrived in Bossrah, he put A'bdullah Hadzramy to flight, who thereon took refuge in a castle, which having been set on fire by Hârethah, A'bdullah perished with all his followers.

In the year 39[130] Moa'wiah despatched No'mân B. Bashir the Anssâry with ten thousand men to A'ynush-shamar, where Mâlek B. Ka'b was at that time governor on the part of the Emâm of the Musalmâns [A'li]. When the people of Mâlek perceived the army of Syria from a distance they fled, whereon Mâlek, having taken refuge with some men in the fort, sent a courier to the Amir of the Faithful, asking for help, and his lordship invited the inhabitants of Kûfah to give him some, without, however, any man responding to his call. When Mâlek saw that the time was getting long, he was under the necessity of sallying out from the fort with one hundred men he had with him to fight with No'mân. The contest had lasted till the time of evening prayers, when A'bdu-r-rahman B Mukhnaf arrived by orders of his father with troops to reinforce Mâlek, and No'mân, imagining them to be very numerous, turned the reins of his intention back towards Syria, so that Mâlek was delivered of the tribulations of the siege.

During this year Moa'wiah B. Abu Sofiân despatched Sofiân B. A'wuf with six thousand men to Habyt, which is a town between Moussul and Syria. After Sofiân had, according to orders, reached Habyt, he marched to Anbâr, which is in the plain of E'râq, where he was attacked by Hasân Albakry, the governor of that place, but killed him, whereon the Syrians, having occupied Anbâr, plundered it. When this information reached A'li the Commander of the Faithful, he became so angry that he said nothing to the people of Kûfah, but left the town alone and went to the camp. The next day the notables of Kûfah hastened to

130 A.H. 39 began on May 29, A.D. 659.

wait on his lordship, and implored him to return, this not being an affair in which one like him ought to engage. His lordship then complied with their request, and despatched Qays B. Sa'd with some troops of valour against Sofiân. Qays then marched with the greatest possible haste till he reached the frontiers of Syria, without, however, encountering a foe, because the Syrians, having obtained a great deal of plunder, had marched back to their country without delay.

In that year Moa'wiah sent A'bdullah B. Sa'd Alqurâry with one thousand seven hundred men to Tymâr, and said: 'Collect the legal alms from the Arabs of the desert, and wage war against those who fail to pay; then march for the same purpose to Mekkah and Madinah.' Tymâr is a town on the fringe of the desert adjoining Syria, and when, obeying orders, he had arrived there, he collected the legal alms from some Arabs. When A'li the Commander of the Faithful received this information, he appointed Musib Qurâry to march with two thousand men to attack A'bdullah B. Sa'd. When Musib arrived in Tymâr, he encountered the Syrians and killed many of them; being, however, a relative of A'bdullah B. Sa'd, he struck him thrice with his turban, saying each time: 'Run, and do not foolishly jeopardize thy life.' Therefore A'bdullah and those whom the sword had spared took refuge in the fort, which Musib then besieged, and, having collected a great deal of wood, set it on fire. When the besieged people became certain of their destruction, they raised such shouts of lamentation that the heart of Musib was moved, and he ordered the flames to be extinguished. When the night set in, A'bdullah B. Sa'd came out with his friends and departed to Syria.

In this year Moa'wiah sent Dzohâk B. Qays with numerous troops into the desert, ordering him to strive to destroy the habitations with all the people he could find in them, and not to allow any pilgrims to go to Mekkah, but to say to them: 'You have no Emâm [leader] there! Where are you going, and with whom will you perform the

pilgrimage?' Dzohâk entered the desert, caused much destruction, slew every Arab he found, plundered everywhere, and in every station where A'li the Commander of the Faithful had established people they were killed by the sword of Dzohâk. When the Shah and recipient of the Vicariate heard of the doings of Dzohâk, he sent Hajar B. A'dy Alkindy with four thousand cavalry to attack him. Hajar then started, reached his destination, and having begun hostilities with Dzohâk, sent many of his troops to the abode of non-existence, and Dzohâk was put to flight.

In this year Moa'wiah had sent one of his friends to Mekkah for the purpose of directing the pilgrimage of persons from Egypt and the boundaries of Africa, but at the time of the pilgrimage Quthm B. A'bbâs, who was governor on behalf of the Amir of the Faithful, prohibited the agent of Moa'wiah from presiding at the ceremonies of the pilgrimage, and both parties were on the point of commencing hostilities, when the people of Mekkah said: 'We shall not allow you to shed each other's blood in the season of the pilgrimage.' Then they appointed Shaybah B. O'thmân to be the leader of the people and to perform with them the ceremonies of the pilgrimage.

In this year Moa'wiah started in person, by way of Moussul, to E'râq. The people having asked what the purpose and destination of this movement was, Moa'wiah replied: 'I want to see the Tigris, which I have never beheld.' When he arrived at Moussul he spent several days on the banks of the Tigris, and then returned again to Damascus, his intention being only that the Amir of the Faithful should hear that Moa'wiah had himself entered the province of E'râq.

In the beginning of the fortieth year[181] Moa'wiah sent Bashir B. Arttâ with three thousand men to conquer the sanctuaries of Mekkah and Madinah, and then to march to Yemen, for the purpose of inviting the inhabitants of that

[181] A.H. 40 began on May 17, A.D. 660.

country to pay homage to Moa'wiah. Bashir obeyed orders, and first went to Madinah, but Ayûb, the Anssâry, who was governor of the town on behalf of A'li the Commander of the Faithful, absconded, whereon Bashir entered the mosque, ascended the pulpit, and addressing the people with reference to O'thmân, asked: 'Where is your lord?' The people then began to weep, and Bashir continued: 'O ye inhabitants of Madinah, as you have yourselves killed O'thmân, why is all this weeping? I swear by God that if Moa'wiah had not forbidden me to kill you I would not have left one of you alive, but whoever will not pay him allegiance will become the cause of his own death.' Then he alighted from the pulpit and invited the inhabitants to pay homage to Moa'wiah, whereon most of them complied. Of the notable Anssâr, however, Jâber concealed himself, and Ahnaf spent every day at home. Whenever Bashir heard that Jâber was in a house he went there and plundered it, till at last Jâber took refuge in the domicile of Omm Solmah, the spouse of the prophet—u. w. bl.—who was a partisan of A'li the Commander of the Faithful. Omm Solmah said to him: 'O Jâber, go and pay homage, because it appears that the government will devolve on Moa'wiah.' Hereon Jâber, leaving the corner of his hiding-place, paid allegiance to Moa'wiah. Bashir, having appointed Abu Haryrah to be governor of Madinah, departed to Mekkah, from which town Quthm B. A'bbâs, who was the governor of it, fled. Abu Mûsa Asha'ry had concealed himself, but was found by the men of Bashir and brought into his presence, whereon he asked him: 'Why hast thou fled?' He replied: 'For fear of my life.' Bashir continued: 'I have orders from Moa'wiah not to kill the companions of the prophet—u. w. bl.—but to receive their allegiance.' Abu Mûsa then paid homage and returned to his house. After Bashir had settled the affairs of Mekkah, he marched to Yemen, whereon A'bdullah B. A'bbâs, the governor of it, fled, after having appointed A'bdullah Hârethy to be his lieutenant. When Bashir arrived in that province he killed A'bdullah and his father, as well as the

two little sons of A'bdullah B. A'bbâs, one of whom was called A'bdu-r-rahman and the other Quthm.

When the departure of Bashir to Mekkah and Madinah had become known to his lordship the Amir of the Faithful, he despatched Hârethah B. Qudâmah and Wohb B. Sa'ûd Thaqfy with four thousand men after him. They marched according to the orders they had received, and when they arrived in Najrân they killed a number of the partisans of O'thmán and then proceeded to Yemen, but Bashir had fled to save his life.—When A'li the Commander of the Faithful was informed that Bashir B. Arttâ had killed the sons of A'bdullah [as mentioned above] he was much distressed, uttered a malediction against Bashir, and said: 'O Allah, deprive him of his religion and of his intellect.' The prayer of his lordship having been responded to, Bashir was overtaken by imbecility, uttered nonsense, and when he once asked for a sword his attendants brought him one of wood, as well as a bag blown full of air, which he then attacked with the sword, so as to destroy it —In this year an estrangement took place between A'bdullah B A'bbâs and A'li the Commander of the Faithful, and the reason was because Abu-l-aswad Dylemy had sent information to Kûfah, that the public-treasury of Bossrah was not in good order, whereon his lordship the recipient of the Vicariate sent the following letter to A'bdullah: 'In case thou shouldst have stretched forth thy hand to the public treasury, thou wilt be called to account by me.' He then ordered the accounts of A'bdullah to be examined, whereon the latter felt so aggrieved that he abdicated his post, left Bossrah and went to Mekkah, where he established himself; but when his lordship A'li the Amir of the Faithful was informed of this he wrote him a letter of conciliation, and induced him to return to his post.

In this year O'qayl B. Abu Ttâleb went to Moa'wiah and paid him allegiance, which act greatly dismayed the Amir of the Faithful. The details of this affair are that O'qayl waited on his brother the Amir of the Faithful, complained of his poverty and of the largeness of his family, and

desired to obtain an increase of his stipend from the public treasury, but his lordship replied: 'I have granted to thee what is due to thee, but I cannot give thee what is due to others.' O'qayl replied: 'My distress has reached its limit and my embarrassment is extreme.' A'li the Commander of the Faithful said: 'If I must, forsooth, give thee something, come to-night that we may bore through the wall of a certain rich man's house, and having taken possession of his goods, may give them to thee.' O'qayl asked: 'Wouldst thou give me stolen goods?' The Amir of the Faithful replied: 'On the day of reckoning it will be easier to answer for a transgression against one man than against all the Musalmâns, because all the adherents of Islâm have a right to the goods of the public treasury.' —Some said that when O'qayl implored the Amir of the Faithful to increase his allowance, his lordship told him to wait a little, then went inside the house, brought out a piece of hot iron and placed it on the palm of O'qayl, who withdrew his hand, saying: 'O brother, if thou wilt not brighten my face with a gift, refrain, at any rate, from burning me with the iron of vengeance.' The Amir of the Faithful said: 'O'qayl, if thou canst not bear fire which man has kindled, how canst thou allow that I shall be burnt by a fire which the God of both worlds has kindled?' When O'qayl had ascertained that his request would by no means be granted, he watched his opportunity, and betook himself from Kûfah to Syria, where Moa'wiah showed him much honour, and made him independent of allowances and solicitations for money. It is said that he presented him with one hundred thousand dirhems, they having been intimate friends already before the time of Islâm. Once Moa'wiah praised him in a select assembly, and said: 'O'qayl is a man whom Abu Ttâleb preferred to A'li.' O'qayl, however, replied: 'Alas! alas! will any man who can see prefer the moon to the world-illuminating sun? No intelligent person will consider the ant to be equal to Suleimân.[133] What has an atom to do with the

[133] See Qurân, ch. xxvii. 18.

world-heating sun, and how can a drop be compared with the boundless ocean? Thou must thyself confess that when the Lord A'li was fighting for the religion and attending to prayers both of us were worshipping idols. See what a difference there is between these pursuits. I, however, being destitute and anxious for worldly possessions, have ceased to wait on the model of saints, and have come to thee.' Many conversations of this kind passed between Moa'wiah and O'qayl, but it was considered sufficient to adduce only the above in this place.—In this, namely, the fortieth year[133] of the Hejret, A'li the Amir of the Faithful departed to the gardens of paradise, and the affairs of the *Khowârej*, with their vicissitudes, having up to this time not yet been jotted down by the reed of explanation, it will be proper that, after having noticed their affairs, the musky and mourning pen should describe the martyrdom of that centre of nobility and blessedness, if it pleaseth Allah the Most High.

Some Account of the Affairs of the Khowârej and their Discussions.

Some U'lamâ of histories have stated, that at the time when A'li the Amir of the Faithful desired to send Abu Mûsa Asha'ry to Daumatu-j-jandal, Harnûs B. Zoheyr and Zara'h B. Malek had advised his lordship not to place the reins of the judgment of God into the hands of Abu Mûsa and to send no one to the antagonists, but the Shâh and recipient of Vicarship replied: 'How can I break my promise, and under what pretence can I allow the covenant to be disregarded? The Lord Most High says: "*Perform the covenant with Allah when ye enter into a covenant, and break not your oaths after ye have pledged them.*"[134] How can such a thing be conceived after the document of the covenant has been written, and the signatures of well-known and prominent men have been appended thereto?' Then Ebn Lakwâ with all the *Khowârej* raised on every

[133] A.H. 40 began on May 17, A.D. 660.
[134] Qurân, ch. xvi. 93.

side the shout: 'There is no judge except Allah!' and having often repeated this expression, they continued: 'Thy intention to make Abu Mûsa Asha'ry the judge is a sin; repent of it! As all the troops have now rested themselves, order them to assemble, that we may march and ardently wage war against the foes.' A'li the Commander of the Faithful replied: 'It is not a sin to delegate Abu Mûsa, but the origin of the sending of him was the sign of weakmindedness, and when the Syrian forces lifted up the Qurâns on spears I told you that this was a mere trick, and invited you to fight one hour more to gain the victory, but you would not listen to my words, and had no mercy with me.' Zara'h then said: 'If thou failest to prohibit Abu Mûsa from going, and to prevent him from being a judge, we shall fight against thee.' The Amir of the Faithful replied: 'I apprehend thou wilt soon be pierced by my lance.' He rejoined: 'That is also my intention' Harnûs said: 'Say what sin I have committed, and I shall repent' His lordship continued: 'In this matter you have committed a sin, and not I.' Now a man said to the Amir of the Faithful: 'These people have become numerous, they call thee an unbeliever for having appointed a judge, and unless thou takest hold of the skirt of repentance and apology they will wage war against thee.' His lordship replied: 'I shall do the same to them' These discussions continued till Abu Mûsa departed to Daumatu-j-jandal, and when the news of the judgment, as already recorded above, arrived in Kûfah, the *Khowârej* were glad, saying: 'It is licit to shed the blood of A'li unless he abdicates the Khalifate.' One day, when the Amir of the Faithful was addressing the people [in the mosque], one of the *Khowârej*, rising to his feet, said: 'There is no judge besides Allah!' His friends, seconding him, repeated the same expression, and his lordship, hearing them, said: 'These words are true, but the conclusion you draw from them is false, you being desirous to abolish the Amirate and the government, whereas the people cannot dispense with a meritorious governor, whether they are good or bad, so that he may

with the aid of opulent men and by his own efforts annihilate foes, accumulate wealth, establish public security, protect the weak against the strong, and the oppressed against oppressors. You may expect three things from me—one is that I shall not hinder you from entering mosques; the other is that if you co-operate with me I shall not withhold from you a share of the booty; and thirdly, if you wage war against me I shall do so against you.'

It is recorded in the history of Abu Hanifah Dinwari that when the people of Kûfah had heard what decision Abu Mûsa Asha'ry and A'mru A'as had arrived at, the great men of the *Khowârej* and their ascetics paid a visit to the house of A'bdullah B. Wohob Alrâsy, who, after praising God and saluting the prince of created beings—u. w. bl.—said: 'Is it proper that people who believe in God and in the last day should hold themselves excused from doing good and from avoiding evil, not applying the word of God [equally] to the low and the high? At present our brothers have agreed to abide by the decision of two men, but their judgment is contrary to the requirements of the glorious Qurân. Now, let everyone who desires to be saved from the calamity of this innovation flee from this town, which is full of darkness.' Harnûs B. Zoheyr having also spoken to the same purpose, and encouraged the people to emigrate, Hamzah B Syâr, who was one of the chiefs of the *Khowârej*, said: 'What these two men have proposed is the very truth and perfect suitableness, but the reins of selection are to be placed into the grasp of a man who is able and worthy to govern, so that in their troubles and difficulties the people may have recourse to his far-sighted discernment.' The *Khowârej*, who considered this to be a wise suggestion, offered the post of Amir to Yazid B. Hassyn, who was one of their hermits, but he demurred; then they invited Barâ B. A'wfy to accept it, who having likewise refused, they requested A'bdullah B. Wohob to become encircled with the garland of the Khalifate. A'bdullah complied with the demand of the people, and said: 'My object in accepting the Amirship is not the

acquisition of mundane enjoyments, but my intention is to gain eternal rewards and to attain essential merits.' Then he drew out his hand from the sleeve of boldness, so that those people paid him homage.[135] When he had been established he said to his friends: 'God the Most High and Glorious has made a covenant with and taken a promise from us, that we should command to do what is good and abstain from what is evil, that we should withhold true words from no one, and wage war for the religion; God the Most High says: "*And whoso judgeth not according to what Allah hath revealed, they are unbelievers.*"[136] It is well known to everyone that many of the professors of the religion have begun to follow the dictates of their own passions, and have not acted according to the requirements of the Divine book, having appointed two judges who gave a decision contrary to justice. I swear by that God besides whom there is no other, that if I find no one to aid me I shall alone wage war against those erring people until I become a martyr.' Some other chiefs of the *Khowârej* people having likewise exhorted A'bdullah B. Wohob to wage war against A'li the Commander of the Faithful, the meeting dispersed. The next day A'bdullah B. Wohob went with a number of *Khowârej* to Sharyh B. Abu A'wfy, who was one of their great men, and said: 'Abu Mûsa Asha'ry and A'mru A'ass have given a judgment contrary to the book of God, and have therefore become infidels when they assented to being made judges, and it is now our intention to leave this town, because we can no longer bear to see the displays of the adherents of futility.' Sharyh replied: 'Inform thy adherents that we may together start to Madâin, and despatch a courier to Bossrah, so that our friends who are in that country may come out together with us.' Yazid B. Hassyn said: 'If we leave this city in crowds the inhabitants will follow us, and attack us, so that we shall either have to be killed or to submit to their com-

[135] The act of homage consists only in placing the hand upon that of the man who receives it.
[136] Qurân, ch. v., end of ver. 48.

mands. We must therefore leave Kûfah one by one or two by two, and let our tryst be the bridge of Naharwân, but not Madâin, because dangers are in that locality, and a letter is to be sent to Bossrah that our partisans may join us there [*i.e.*, at the bridge].' The people having approved of this advice, a letter was despatched to the *Khowârej* of Bossrah of the following purport: 'You must join your friends, so that we may acquire [eternal] merit and distinction. I have sent you one of your own brothers, noted for his honesty and far from deceit, that you may ask from him *information on the state of affairs*.' When they had completed this letter they intrusted it to A'bdullah B. Sa'yd, who carried it to Bossrah, and when the inhabitants had perused it, they wrote in reply: 'We intend to meet you shortly.' After that the adherents of aberration departed from Kûfah, one by one and in pairs, in the direction of Naharwàn, and at the time of starting Yazid B. Hassyn recited the following verse: '"*Wherefore he departed from it* [*i.e.*, from the city] *in great fear* [lest he should be pursued], *and he said, O Lord, deliver me from the unjust people. And when he was journeying towards Madian he said. Peradventure my Lord will direct me in the right way.*"'[137] On the road many of those people joined him, amongst them being also Zaid B. A'dy B. Hattim Ttây. When A'dy heard of the departure of his son he hastened after the *Khoudrej*, not halting anywhere till he reached Madâin, but as he could not find any trace of him there, he informed Sa'd B. Masu'd Thaqfy, who was the plenipotentiary of the Amir of the Faithful in that district, and having exhorted him to capture the *Khowârej*, himself returned to Kûfah. On the road, however, he met A'bdullah B. Wohob Alrâsy, who was, according to the promise he had made to his friends, about to join them at Naharwân. A'bdullah desired to take A'dy, but was unable to do so on account of the objections of two *Khowârej*. After the departure of A'dy in the direction of Kûfah, Sa'd B. Masu'd marched with five hundred cavalry from Madâin

[137] Qurân, ch. xxviii. 20, 21

in search of the *Khowârej*, and both parties encountered each other near the time of evening prayers at Baghdâd [*sic*]. Sa'd engaged in hostilities with A'bdullah B. Wohob, who had at that time not more than thirty men with him. When the fight had lasted awhile, the companions of Sa'd said to him: 'As no orders have been issued from the abode of the Khalifate to wage war against the *Khowârej*, thou must abstain from slaying these people, and represent the state of affairs to his lordship A'li the Commander of the Faithful.' Sa'd, having complied with the request of his companions, returned to Madâin, and A'bdullah B. Wohob [on his part], having performed the distance, arrived at Naharwân, where he found a great multitude of his partisans had assembled. On this occasion five hundred men of the *Khowârej* had departed from Bossrah and gone to Naharwân. When A'bdullah B. A'bbâs had heard of this event, he despatched Abu-l-aswad Dylemy with a number of valiant men, saying: 'Hasten after those people and turn them back.' Abu-l-aswad went in pursuit of the *Khowârej* and overtook them at the bridge of Tastar, but night intervening, the opponents eluded molestation, and no fight took place between the parties. The *Khowârej* of Bossrah, desirous to bring over to their sect every man they found on the road, invited everyone to join them. All who were ready to refuse to accept the decision of the two judges escaped with their lives, in the contrary case, however, they were despatched by sabres to the eternal paradise. When the union of the people of Bossrah with those of Kûfah had been brought to the notice of A'li the Commander of the Faithful, he sent them the following letter: 'In the name of Allah the Merciful, the Clement. From the servant of Allah and Amir of the Faithful, to A'bdullah B. Wohob Alrâsy and to Yazid B. Alhassyn and to those who follow them. Salutation to you! Verily the two men who agreed to that which the Book of Allah has enjoined to us have followed their own inclinations, and not the guidance of Allah by what they have done, and not given their decision according to the Qurân. We reject

their decision, and we adhere to our former determination; receive it, therefore—may Allah have mercy on you—for we are marching against our enemies and yours, to wage war against them again, until Allah judges between us; for He is the best of judges.' When the letter of the Shâh and recipient of the Vicariate had been received by the *Khowârej*, they sent him the following reply: 'But after [the usual preliminary we say that] thou hast not injured the Cherisher [*i e.*, God], but only thy own soul, by assenting to the decision of two judges and becoming an infidel. If thou repentest and behavest honestly we shall meet thy wishes with a glance of acceptance, but if thou persistest in thy sin we invite thee to the straight road, and there is no doubt whatever that the Creator—who be praised and exalted—bears no love towards treacherous people.' When this writing arrived in Kûfah, A'li the Amir of the Faithful despaired of the *Khowârej* becoming obedient to him; he therefore determined to let those people alone, and to march to Syria in order to chastise Moa'wiah again. He accordingly departed from Kûfah, encamped in the locality of Nakhlah, and addressed his companions as follows: 'Engage in preparations for the march, because I have issued Firmâns to the governors of provinces and have summoned them. When the troops are assembled we shall turn our faces towards Syria for the purpose of removing the partisans of darkness, if Allah the Most High willeth.' The men of Kûfah then prepared, according to these orders, for a march to Syria. A'li the Amir of the Faithful then despatched swift couriers into various provinces of the well-guarded realms, inviting the bold warriors quickly to join the victory-allied camp He likewise sent a letter to A'bdullah B. Abbâs, inviting him to come with the army of Bossrah, whereon that lord, having tied on the *Ehrâm*[138] of attendance, had with seven thousand men arrived in Nakhlah and attained the honour of the hand-kiss, so that

[138] This expression has been already explained in a footnote, as being the simple two sheets donned by pilgrims on entering the sacred territory of Mekkah.

[at last] more than eighty thousand were assembled in the camp

Distich: From every side a crowd gathered around him,
Which was of good origin and also sword-striking.[139]

Meanwhile, the news arrived that the *Khowârej* had begun to plunder and to kill in the plain of E'râq, forgetting the book of God and the *Sonna* of his lordship the Mussttafa —u. w. bl. The man who brought the information of the insurrection of the *Khowârej* stated that when they met A'bdullah B. Hubbâb and another man, they asked them: 'Have you assented that Abu Mûsa Asha'ry and A'mru B. A'ass should be judges?' Those unfortunate two men, having given an affirmative reply, were immediately killed only on that account. He also narrated that Senân A'bd Rabbihi had met with the same fate, and the *Khowârej* were engaged in shedding blood and plundering. After receiving this information the Amir of the Faithful despatched Hâreth B. Murrah to Naharwân to bring authentic news; that innocent man, however, was likewise killed by the sword of the *Khowârej* when he had reached the vicinity of Naharwân. When the high Amirs heard this account, they made a representation to A'li the Commander of the Faithful, saying: 'It is not proper that we should leave alone these misguided people and go to Syria, permitting them freely to shed the blood of Musalmâns and to ravage their property. It is, moreover, probable that the wickedness of this faction will spread to Kûfah; it would, therefore, be suitable for us to march with our forces against those people, and to invite them to obedience. If they assent all will be well, but in the contrary case we shall exterminate that base faction with the bright scimitar. When our minds have become relieved of the wickedness of the *Khowârej* faction, we shall turn the reins of our intention towards Syria.' This suggestion having been approved of by the august nature of A'li the Commander of the Faithful, he ordered it to be proclaimed that the troops

[139] This distich is apparently borrowed from the Shâhnâma.

should march to Naharwân; they accordingly proceeded till they were at a distance of one farsakh from the camp of the *Khowârej*, and then halted. In that stage his lordship the recipient of the Vicariate held a consultation with A'bdullah B. A'bbâs and with Abu Ayûb, the Anssary, both of whom he then despatched to the camp of the *Khowârej* for the purpose of making efforts to cool the ardour of the *Khowârej* with the limpid water of advice Those two respected men then betook themselves to the camp of the *Khowârej*, but their admonitions having proved of no avail, they returned and reported the state of affairs. Then the Amir of the Faithful proceeded in his own noble person to the camp of the *Khowârej*, but halted at a short distance, from which his voice would be heard by them, and addressed them as follows· 'O ye crowd who have come out for a purpose, do not you know that when I proposed that two judges should give a decision according to the requirements of the Divine book, and that at the time when the people exhibited the Qurâns on the tops of lances, I said that this proceeding was nothing but a fraud and deception, and that when you would not agree to any other thing except a decision by two judges, I said that I agreed to this arrangement on the condition that the judges should keep alive what the Qurân keeps alive, and deaden what the Qurân deadens; as, however, those two individuals have acted contrary to the Divine word, and have chosen to follow the dictates of wicked passions, we have considered their decision as non-existent, and have adhered to what we first said. Now, I do not know what the cause of your insurrection and opposition is.' The *Khowârej* replied: 'At the time when we assented to the [proposed] judgment we became infidels, but, having repented, we now regret that step. If thou wilt likewise catch hold of the skirt of repentance and apology, we shall again be obedient and loyal to thee' A'li the Commander of the Faithful said. 'If I were, despite my precedence in Islâm, my exile with the apostle of Allah, my waging of holy wars, and my striving to obtain the approbation of Allah,

nevertheless to bear witness against my own soul [by doubting against these prerogatives], I would be of the number of the erring, and not of those who are [Divinely] guided.' His lordship the recipient of the Vicariate also added: 'My desire is that you should appoint a man of yourselves in whose words and deeds you place confidence, to discuss the matter with me. If he convinces me, I shall act according to your words, but if I overpower him, then you must fear God the Most High and become obedient and loyal to me.'" The *Khowârej* then selected A'bdullah B. Alkwâ to confer with his lordship. A'li the Commander of the Faithful then said: 'O son of Alkwâ, what has happened to you that you have rebelled against me after assenting to my Khalifate, to wage religious wars and to be obedient to me? How is it that on the "day of the camel" you have manifested no sentiments like these?' Ebn Alkwâ replied: 'On that day there was no judging.' The Amir of the Faithful continued: 'Woe be to thee, O son of Alkwâ! Are my justice, guidance and direction more excellent than the justice of the apostle?' He replied: 'The justice of the apostle.' His lordship continued: 'Hast thou not heard that in the contention with the people of Najrân, and on account of their silly behaviour, the following verse was revealed. "*Say* [to them], *Let us call together our sons and your sons, and our wives and your wives, and ourselves and yourselves. Then let us make imprecations, and lay the curse of God on those who lie.*"[140] It is certain that God the Most High and Glorious entertained no doubt of the people of Najrân being liars.' Ebn Alkwâ replied: 'This is the general opinion about them, but thou hast thyself created a doubt concerning thyself and thy Khalifate when thou hast assented to the judgment [to be given] by two judges; and as thou hast concerning thyself fallen into doubt, our doubt with reference to thee is more valid.' A'li the Amir of the Faithful then recited another verse [of the Qurân] to corroborate his statement and as a testimony for it, and A'bdullah

[140] Qurân, ch. iii., part of ver. 54.

having again given an unsuitable answer, his lordship continued his arguments until he subdued him, whereon Ebn Alkwâ said at last: 'Whatever thou sayest is true, and there is no fault in thee except that thou hast become an infidel at the time when thou hast appointed Abu Mûsa to be a judge.' The Shâh and recipient of Vicarship rejoined: 'I have made Abu Mûsa a judge, and Moa'wiah made A'mru B. A'ass one.' Ebn Alkwâ continued: 'Abu Mûsa is an infidel.' His lordship said: 'Abu Mûsa became an infidel when he went to Daumatu-j-jandal, or at the moment of his departure.' Ebn Alkwâ replied: 'At the time of [giving] the judgment.' The Amir of the Faithful rejoined: 'Abu Mûsa, having at the time of my sending him been a Musalmân, and become an infidel when the judgment was delivered, what can be my fault in this matter? Supposing the apostle to have sent a man to polytheists to invite them to [believe in] God, and he invited them to something else, what reproach would fall on his lordship? What reproach can now befall me on account of the error of Abu Mûsa, and how will the shedding of the blood of Musalmâns become licit to you?' When the great men of the *Khowârej* had heard these words from his lordship the Amir of the Faithful, they said to Ebn Alkwâ: 'Restrain thy tongue from opposing this man, and return to thy place.' Ebn Alkwâ then went back in obedience to this command, whereon the *Khowârej* got ready for hostilities and desired to begin the combat. When the lord and recipient of Vicarship knew that nothing except the scimitar could decide the case of those erring men, he drew out his forces in battle array, gave the command of the right wing to Hajar B. A'dy, appointed Shith B. Rabyi'y to the left, and Abu Ayûb to take charge of the whole cavalry, ordering all the infantry to assemble under the banner of Abu Qotadah. The *Khowârej*, on their part, also arranged their lines, polluting the right wing by the presence of Yazid B Hassyn, and appointing Sharyh B. Abu A'wfy to the left, while Harnûs B. Zoheyr accepted the

command of the mounted troops, and Ebn Alkwâ made that of the infantry the aim of his efforts.

On that day both the [opposing] armies remained standing in front of each other. A'li the Commander of the Faithful, having left two thousand men to guard a banner, ordered a proclamation to be shouted that anyone approaching this banner would receive quarter, and anyone departing to Kûfah would be under the protection of [God], the Lord of mercy. On the same occasion Qarwah B. Naufel Ashja'y, who was one of the *Khowârej* chiefs, said to his followers: 'I do not know why a purposeless war is to be waged against A'li, who is the Vicar of God and the legatee of the prophet.' Then he left the camp with five hundred men and marched towards the desert of Kûfah. Thus some of the *Khowârej* hastened towards Kûfah, and others, betaking themselves to the above-mentioned banner, found quarter for their lives and property. After that A'li the Amir of the Faithful ordered his forces not to begin hostilities, but to wait till they were attacked by the opponents. When the antagonists perceived that the victorious army would not advance, they began to shout: 'There is no judge except Allah, *although the polytheists be averse* [thereto].'[141] Then they unanimously attacked the victorious army with such impetuosity that the hosts of the revolving sphere quaked. Then the *Khowârej* separated themselves into two divisions, one assailing the right and the other the left flank of the defenders of Islâm. Qays B. Moa'wiah Barhamy of the victory-allied army having encountered Sharyh B. Abu A'wfy, cut off his foot with one blow. He, however, persevered, despite this condition, in his resistance, till Qays B. Sa'd finally despatched him.

In some chronicles it is recorded that in the battle of Naharwân a man of the *Khowârej*, Akhnas Ttây by name —who had displayed great valour in the battle of Saafyn when attending on the Amir of the Faithful, and had prostrated with his bright scimitar many of the antagonists

[141] Qurân, ch. lxi., end of ver. 9.

on the ground of destruction—had left his lines, stood between the two armies, recited some verses boasting of his own exploits, attacked the victory-allied army like a furious lion, broke through the lines, and issued on the other side, whereon A'li the Commander of the Faithful pursued him on horseback, but Akhnas halted and encountered his lordship. The lion of attack, however, prostrated him with the Dhu-l-fiqâr from the saddle to the ground. Harnûs B. Zoheyr then watched his opportunity, approached his lordship, intending to strike him, but the Amir of the true believers forestalled him, and [this time] broke the skull of Harnûs, who being unable to control his horse, it galloped away with him till it threw him in the rear of the battlefield on the bank of the Naharwân river in a desolate spot. After that Mâlek B. Alwodzâh, the cousin of Harnûs, entered the lists, recited a strophe in praise of Harnûs and his friends, whereon the conquering lion of Allah approached him and despatched him with one blow, so that he surrendered his life to the owner of hell. When A'bdullah B. Wohob Alrâsy, who was the very leaven of the disturbance and the chief of the *Khowârej*, beheld what had taken place, he came forward and said in a loud voice: 'O son of Abu Ttâleb, how long wilt thou glory in this prolongation [of the contest]? Be pleased now to encounter me, that thou mayest behold a man attacking and wounding thee! I have made an oath not to budge from this spot unless I have slain thee or have been slain by thee.' The Amir of the Faithful smiled, and replied: 'Ebn Wohob has become extremely shameless, although he knows me very well. The reason for his coming out opposite to me with such boldness is nothing else but weariness of his treachery, getting tired of his life, and therefore challenging me to a duel.' When Ebn Wohob had advanced several steps nearer and approached A'li the Commander of the Faithful, his lordship sent him with one blow of his bright scimitar to the abode of perdition. After Ebn Wohob had been slain, the victorious army so annihilated the *Khowârej* that, of four thousand

combatants, not more than ten [*sic*] escaped alive from that battlefield, whereas of the victory-allied only nine were killed.

It is related as authentic that before the commencement of this battle A'li the Amir of the Faithful uttered these words with his august mouth: 'On this battlefield the number of our slain will from units not reach decades, but of the opponents ten men will scarcely escape alive.' There is a tradition that two of those ten fugitives went to Khorâsân, and having for some time sojourned in that province, betook themselves to the Nymrûz country,[142] where they remained till they died, and the *Khowârej* of Sejestân are considered to be their descendants. Two other men strayed to Yemen, where they begat offspring, and the *Khowârej* of Yemen are their progeny. Two others established themselves in O'mân, the *Khowârej* of which country attribute their origin to them. Two other men fled to the Jazyrah A'rab [*i.e.*, Mesopotamia], and Aa'thum Kûfy states that a number of the descendants of these two men were [in his time] living on the banks of the river Euphrates, and one of those unlucky ten men strayed to Tal Mûdhûn.

In some traditions it is recorded that Abu Ayûb, the Anssâ-y, had said to the Amir of the Faithful: 'In this combat I pierced Yazid B. Hassyn with my lance, so that it came out at his back, and I said to him: "Receive the glad tidings of the fire of Jahannam,[143] O enemy of Allah!" He replied: "It will soon appear who of us two is more deserving of it."' His lordship the Amir said: 'There is no doubt that he is more worthy to burn in hell-fire.'—In a similar way the narrators of some traditions have recorded that Hâny B. Khattâb disputed with Zyâd B. Hafss concerning the death of Ebn Wohob, as both of them had struck him with their lances. That rank-breaking *lion* A'li Murtadza observed: "It is certain that each has acquired grace by killing one who has gone astray [from

[142] 'Nymrûz' is 'mid-day' or 'south,' *i.e.*, Seistân, Sejestân.
[143] Gehenna, hell.

the religion].'—It is related that A'li the Commander of the Faithful had said before the battle of Naharwân: 'Some people fly from the religion like an arrow from the bow, although they recite the Qurân; but the Qurân does not pass beyond their throats [into their hearts], and their hearts are not intent upon the commandments of the Furqân! I swear by that God who causes seed to sprout, and has invested man with the garment of existence from the treasury of His bounty, that the apostle of God has established me, and given me information, saying: "Thou wilt wage war against them, and those people will not return from the desert of aberration to the path of [Divine] guidance, just as the discharged arrow does not return to the thumbstall of the archer. The sign is that among those people there was a man one of whose arms near the shoulder consisted of a lump of flesh resembling the breasts of a woman, with hairs on it resembling the snout of a cat.'

O'baydah Solmâny says: 'I was in attendance on the victory-boding stirrup of A'li, when he arrived in the vicinity of Naharwân. On that occasion a man brought the news that the *Khowârej* had crossed the river. His lordship was reciting his prayers, and when he had finished them he said: "This news is unfounded; these people have not crossed the water, their passage is on this side of it." Then some combatants who had gone forward returned, and [also] stated that the antagonists had crossed the river; his lordship, however, rejoined: "By Allah, they will not pass over the river! I have never spoken lies—never been told lies—and the place where they will be killed is on this side of the river. They will kill not more than ten of you, but of them not more than ten will remain alive."' It is likewise recorded of O'baydah that he said: 'When the Amir of the Faithful narrated the story of *Dhu-l-thadyah*,[144] I adjured his lordship thrice, swearing that there was no man endued with the above-described qualities among the slain, but he replied: "I swear by God that *Dhu-l-thadyah*

[144] Endowed with the breasts, the man alluded to just above.

is among them." Then the people again searched, till they dragged him out from beneath forty killed men. After that accursed caitiff had been found, A'li the Commander of the Faithful performed the prostration of gratitude. When the people examined the upper arm of *Dhu-l-thadyah*, they found that it consisted of a lump of flesh covered with hair, and when they drew it out it became as long as the other hand, but when they let go their hold it again contracted and resembled the breast of a woman.'

There is a tradition that after A'li the Commander of the Faithful had terminated fighting with the *Khowârej*, he passed among the killed, and said: 'Great is your doom, since you were killed after being deceived.' Being asked who had deceived those people, he replied: 'Satan and their disobedient spirit.' Then he recited the noble verse: 'Their safety beguiled them, "*And Satan prepared their works for them, and turned them aside from the way* [*of truth*]"'[145] He also said: 'If I were not obnoxious to your reproaches, I would inform you what promises the apostle of Allah had made concerning the slain of these people.' The narrator of this tradition states that among the slain four hundred men were found in whom a spark of life was still remaining, whereon his lordship ordered them to be delivered to their own people, and the cattle, with the weapons of the *Khowârej*, to be distributed among the victorious troops, but all their other property to be surrendered to their heirs.

When the august mind of his sacred lordship the Amir of the Faithful had been delivered from [apprehensions concerning] the *Khowârej*, he opened his mouth with laudations towards the Divine Majesty of God, and offered salutations to his lordship Muhammad Mustafa—u. w. bl.—incited the troops to march to Syria, and said: 'The beneficent Sovereign has been gracious to you, vouchsafing to you righteousness, benefits and victory over your foes, humbling and overthrowing them. As the Most High and Glorious has caused you to vanquish the schismatics, you

[145] Qurân, ch. xxix., part of ver. 37.

are to strive to eradicate the unrighteous [people of Syria]. Some prominent men of the troops, among whom was also Asha'th B. Qays, unanimously said: 'O Amir of the Faithful, our affairs have been completed, our swords have become blunt, and our lances are broken; send us [back] to Kûfah, that we may obtain new and mend old weapons, and then engage boldly and readily in extirpating and eradicating the enemies and rebels.' The lord and recipient of the Vicariate having granted their request, they beat the drum of departure, and marched to Kûfah, which they approached after traversing the necessary distance, and encamped at Nakhlah. His lordship the Shâh of men then gave permission to all who had anything to do in the town to enter it, but to remain there not more than one day, because the march to Syria allowed of no delay. After a few days but a small detachment of honourable men remained stationary at Nakhlah, most of the troops having departed to the city, left the camp empty, and preferred their own comfort to the fatigues of a march. A'li the Amir of the Faithful, taking notice of this state of affairs, entered Kûfah, the inhabitants of which offered their excuses; these, however, were not accepted. After that his lordship the Amir blamed and reproached the inhabitants of Kûfah every time he addressed them [in the mosque] in eloquent language. When his lordship had manifested his displeasure beyond measure, the people of Kûfah made haste to wait on him, and said: 'In whatever direction thou choosest to march, we shall attend at thy august, heaven-aspiring stirrup.' These words having met with the approbation of his lordship the recipient of the Vicariate, he ordered Hâreth Hamdâny to proclaim that every man sincerely attached to the Amir of the Faithful should make his appearance in a certain locality, which was a suitable one for assembling the army, but when he visited the said place the next day, he found not more than three hundred men, and said: 'If the number of these men had amounted to one thousand, I would have communicated a plan to them.' He, nevertheless, remained there two days much

disappointed and grieved, till Hajar B. A'dy and Qays Sa'd B. A'bâdah said: 'It would be proper for thee to order the people to march to Syria, and if they demur, to order them to be punished.' Accordingly, an order necessary to be obeyed was issued from the abode of the Khalifate, that none of the soldiers should lag behind in the town, but make their appearance in the camp, and the determination was arrived at that Moa'qal B. Qays should go into the districts to gather troops, whereon A'li the Commander of the Faithful returned to his abode. Moa'qal B. Qays then departed to collect forces, but he had not yet returned when his lordship attained the happiness of martyrdom. It is related in some traditions that in the beginning of the year forty,[146] when distressing news had arrived in Kûfah from Syria, forty thousand persons immediately paid allegiance to A'li the Commander of the Faithful, who were ready to march against the enemies; as, however, Divine predestination failed to second their intentions, Murtadza A'li—u. w. bl.—departed at that very time to the gardens of paradise.

The Dreadful End of A'li the Commander of the Faithful, A.H. 40.

It is certified in several chronicles that Uns B. Mâleb narrated the following tradition: 'Once the Amir of the Faithful A'li happened to fall sick, whereon his lordship the prophet—u. w. bl.—paid him a visit with Abu Bakr and O'mar. When his lordship looked at the face of the Amir he wept, and the two Sheiks [*i.e.*, Abu Bakr and O'mar] averred that A'li Murtadza would die from that malady. His lordship, however, having understood the purport of their words, said: "He will not die now, but will be slain and without any reason." Sometimes the Amir of the Faithful said concerning his being killed: "What will it profit the most ill-starred men of the world, when they dye my beard with the blood of my head?"'—It is on record that at the time Moa'wiah was governing

[146] A.H. 40 began on May 17, A.D. 660.

he had misgivings that he would die before A'li, or after the return of his lordship to his abode. Considering this matter, it occurred to him that if this difficulty [or doubt] was to be solved, it would be by his lordship the Amir. Therefore he ordered three headstrong Arabs to start after each other to Kûfah, to report his death to A'li, and to watch what he would say about it. At a time when A'li the Commander of the Faithful was engaged in the mosque of Kûfah in preaching and admonition, one of the said three Arabs arrived. Having learnt that A'li was with his companions in the mosque, he went there as quickly as possible, and said in a loud voice: 'O ye people of Kûfah, I bring you the good news that Moa'wiah is dead.' The friends of A'li the Commander of the Faithful, being pleased with this information, became excited, but he himself, taking no notice, continued his sermon. At the same time the second of those three Arabs entered the mosque, and also said that Moa'wiah was dead. On this occasion the companions, being no longer able to restrain themselves, began to shout for joy. The Amir of the Faithful, however, would again not interrupt his sermon, and took no cognizance of the information. Then his friends said to him: 'Amir of the Faithful, the news of the demise of Moa'wiah has really arrived, and we do not know why thou showest no marks of pleasure at the death of such a powerful foe.' His lordship, pointing to his blessed head and beard, replied: 'Moa'wiah will not die before these [*i.e.*, beard and head] have been coloured with my blood.'

It is narrated in the 'Mostaqassa,' after Muhammad B. Esahâq and Ebn Hamdân, that after fighting against the *Khowârej* A'li the Commander of the Faithful sent the following message to Muhammad B. Abu Bakr: 'Send here some of the cavalry of Egypt.' Accordingly Muhammad despatched twenty men of known valour, one of whom was A'bdu-r-rahman B. Mulajjam Qurâry, and when the glance of the lord and recipient of the Vicariate fell upon this man, he said: 'Be patient, for there is no escape

from death.' It is related in several chronicles that Ebn Mulajjam had lost his horse during the march, and that on his arrival he asked the Commander of the Faithful to give him one, and that when the blessed eye of his lordship alighted on him, he said: 'I want to give him something, and he wants to murder me.'—It is on record that A'li the Commander of the Faithful one day asked Ebn Mulajjam whether he had any nickname when he was an infant, but he replied that he did not know. He again asked: 'Has a Jewish woman ever been thy nurse?' Having received an affirmative reply, he continued: 'Has that poor woman ever called thee "O wretch! O hamstringer of the she-camel of Saâlah"?' He said: 'Yes.' Having heard the answer from Ebn Mulajjam, his lordship remained silent and spoke no more to him. —It is recorded in many biographical works that, at the time his lordship the Emâm of the Pious was about to depart to the proximity of the mercy of the Lord of both worlds, he was sometimes in the habit of breaking his fast in the abode of Hasan the Amir of the Faithful, occasionally at night in the dwelling of Husain the Amir of the Faithful, and sometimes in the house of A'bdullah B. Ja'fer B. Abu Ttâleb, never eating more than three morsels, and saying: 'I shall be your guest only for a few nights.'

The blackener of these pages [*i.e.*, the author] states that he has seen various traditions concerning the intention of Ebn Mulajjam to murder the Shah and asylum of Vicarship, but has in this place confined himself to an account in which all trustworthy historians are unanimous; but help and grace come from Him [*i.e.*, God]: A number of the U'lamâ of biographies and histories have reported in their compositions that after the battle of Naharwân A'bdu-r-rahman B. Mulajjam Qurâry, and Barak B. A'bdullah Altamymy, and A'mru B. Bakr Alsa'dy, who were the most prominent of the *Khowârej*, had gone to Mekkah, where they assembled, recounted the defects of the governors of the provinces, gave explanations and descriptions of the men killed at Naharwân, wept, and said to each other at

the conclusion of the meeting: 'The cure of [the pain of our] breasts and the peace of our souls depend upon the murder of three men, who are walking on the road of aberration and have gone astray, namely, A'li B. Abu Ttâleb, and Moa'wiah B. Abu Sofiân, and A'mru B. A'ass.' The accursed Ebn Mulajjam, who belonged to Egypt, then said: 'I shall do the business of A'li.' Barak B. A'bdullah said: 'I shall finish Moa'wiah.' And A'mru B. Bakr, accepting the task of murdering the third man, said: 'I take it upon myself to get rid of the wickedness of A'mru B. A'ass.' These men, having poisoned their swords, then made an agreement to cut in twain the string of the lives of the three above-named individuals on a certain night during the month of Ramadzân. Then they separated, Ebn Mulajjam departing to Kûfah, Barak to Damascus, and A'mru to Egypt. On his way to Kûfah Ebn Mulajjam happened to meet a woman who had no equal in beauty and amiability, and looking as if the following distich had been composed to describe her:

> Her face was [bright] like the merits of the beneficent,
> Her hair was [black] like the book of records of sinners.

That woman was also of the *Khowârej*, whose father, brother, and husband—or uncle, according to another tradition—had been killed in the battle of Naharwân by the swords of the army of the asylum of victory. Her name was Qottâmah, and when Ebn Mulajjam caught sight of her he became enamoured of her harmonious movements, and made proposals to her, whereon that unhallowed beauty replied: 'I have no objections, if thou wilt give me the marriage gift I require.' The accursed Ebn Mulajjam asked: 'What is thy dowry?' She replied: 'Three thousand dirhems, a slave boy and girl, and the murder of A'li B. Abu Ttâleb.' Ebn Mulajjam accepted the conditions, and said: 'I have come to Kûfah on this very business.' Qottâmah added: 'I shall find another man to aid thee therein.' Then she caused a relative of hers—Wurdân by name—to meet Ebn Mulajjam, and either by the deceit of

Qottâmah or the seduction of Ebn Mulajjam, Shabyb B. Nahrah became the third of them [*i.e.*, of the assassins], waiting together for the appointed night.

When Barak B. A'bdullah arrived in Damascus, and one night made [according to one tradition on the seventeenth of Ramadzân] an attempt to kill Moa'wiah with his sword, he was caught, whereon he said to Moa'wiah: 'I shall give thee a piece of news which will rejoice thee.' Moa'wiah asked: 'What is it?' He continued: 'My brother A'bdu-r-rahman B. Mulajjam has this night killed A'li.' Moa'wiah replied: 'Perhaps he will not succeed in this attempt.' Then he ordered the hands and feet of Barak to be amputated and his tongue to be cut out, so that he expired in the worst plight. Then Moa'wiah asked a physician to cure the place where Barak had wounded him. The physician replied: 'The remedy is that the wounded part must be scarified.' Moa'wiah having replied that he could not bear the pain of scarification, the physician said: 'There is also another remedy by which a cure may be effected; it consists of a potion, but that will entail the impossibility of begetting further progeny.' Moa'wiah replied: 'I am pleased with the children I have, and can dispense with more.' Then Moa'wiah drank the potion and was delivered of the calamity. After that Moa'wiah ordered a cabin to be erected in the mosque, which none except confidential and trustworthy men could enter. Whenever he went to the mosque he was attended by a guard with drawn swords.

When A'mru B. Bakr arrived in Egypt, he watched his opportunity and entered, according to the agreement, the mosque on the appointed evening. As on that day A'mru B. A'ass happened to suffer from abdominal pains, he was himself unable to attend [at the Divine service], and despatched a man of the Bani A'amer to be the Emâm [*i.e.*, leader of the prayers]. When the Emâm was entering the mosque, A'mru B. Bakr dealt him such a blow with the sword that he lifted his head no more. Then shouts arose from every part of the mosque: 'Wretch! The man thou hast killed was not the Amir.' A'mru replied: 'What

fault have I committed? I wanted to kill only him with my sword.'—Some relate that when A'mru had been captured and taken to the presence of A'mru B. A'ass, and the former knew that he had killed another man, he exclaimed: 'By Allah, O wicked man, I wanted none other but thee.' A'mru B. A'ass rejoined: 'But Allah wanted Khârejah.' The name of the slain man was Khârejah A'amery. In some books the man who had attempted to kill Moa'wiah is called Barak B. A'amer, and he who endeavoured to slay A'mru B. A'ass is named A'bdullah B. Mâlek Ssydâwy.

There is a tradition that A'li the Amir of the Faithful was in the habit of attending at the mosque very early in the morning and engaging in prayers till sunrise. The partisans of his lordship, having taken cognizance of this fact, and knowing that he had many enemies who might injure him, determined to protect them. Accordingly every morning a number of them posted themselves around the mosque and guarded his lordship. One evening when A'li the Commander of the Faithful was, as usual, walking to the mosque, his blessed eye alighted on these men, and he asked: 'Who are you?' They gave him their names, and on his asking why they had assembled, they replied: 'We are suspicious of thy enemies, and it is for some time that we are coming here to guard thee from their machinations.' He asked: 'Are you protecting me against celestial or terrestrial calamities?' They replied: 'Our hands cannot reach celestial matters, so that we cannot guard thee against heavenly misfortunes; but if thy foes want to hurt thee we shall ward them off, and we trust that no injury will befall thee from the denizens of the earth.' His lordship continued: 'Without a celestial command no event on the face of the earth can take place.' This declaration having been considered to be perfectly true, his friends ceased to guard him.

It is related that in those days A'li the Amir of the Faithful said one day to his son the Emâm Hasan: 'Last night I saw the apostle of Allah—u. w. bl.—in a vision, and

said to him: "O apostle of Allah, what hostilities and miseries I have to suffer from thy people!" He replied: "Pray for them." Then I said: "O God, reward me for the merits of my adoration with a society better than theirs, and appoint a worse man than myself to govern them."' At that very time he attained the honour of martyrdom, whereby it became evident that the prayer of his lordship had met with a response.—In some books it is recorded that towards the end of his life he asked Hasan the Amir of the Faithful: 'How much of this month has elapsed?' He replied; 'Fifteen days.' Then he asked Husain the Amir of the Faithful: 'How many days of this month are remaining?' He replied: 'Fifteen days.' His lordship said: 'I shall be your guest five days more.'—One of the slave-girls of A'li the Commander of the Faithful states: 'On Monday night I poured water on his blessed hands, on which occasion he took hold of his blessed beard and said: "Woe on this gray beard, which will become red with blood on Friday night"'—In fine, during these days his sacred lordship A'li the Commander of the Faithful uttered many sentiments of this kind, which have been recorded in voluminous books, so that anyone liking to do so may peruse them all. On the morning that this event took place his lordship appeared to be very disquieted, and at last said: 'There is no remedy against death and no escape from predestination.' Having resigned his mind to separate from his friends, he started to go to the mosque, and when he went out the ducks which were in the august mansion quacked in the face of his lordship, but one of the attendants gave them blows with a stick. His lordship said: 'Restrain your hands from the ducks, because they are speeding me.' When he had left his sacred chamber and was just about to enter the mosque those three accursed men, having watched their opportunity, began to move, and threw a sword which struck his head-dress.[147] Then Ebn Muljjam —curses be on him—striking a blow with his sabre on the top of the head of his lordship, said: 'The government

[147] The fillet which Arabs wear on their heads.

belongs to Allah. Neither to thee nor to thy companions.' The sabre of Mulajjam reached the spot which that of A'mru B. A'bdûd had touched in the battle of the Confederates.[143] His lordship the recipient of the Vicariate exclaimed: 'I flee [for refuge] to the Lord of the Ka'bah.' After that dreadful event that accursed fellow ran away to his own house, and it is said that when this calamity befell the Amir of the Faithful the people assembled, and said: 'Who has inflicted this wound?' His lordship the Amir replied: 'God the Most High will reveal it.' On that morning when Ebn Mulajjam was running with a bloody sword in his hand through the streets of Kûfah, a man of the Bani Qays having encountered him, asked: 'Who art thou?' He replied: 'A'bdu-r-rahman B. Mulajjam.' The man said: 'Most probably thou hast wounded the Amir of the Faithful' The accursed fellow desired to give a negative reply, but the Creator—who is to be praised and exalted—made him utter the word 'Yes,' whereon the said man raised an alarm, so that Ebn Mulajjam was captured and taken to his lordship the Amir, who said: 'This is the man who struck me, there is no lie in that. This man is one of my servants.' After that he turned his face to Ebn Mulajjam, and asked: 'O enemy of God, have I not overwhelmed thee with favours and benefactions?' He replied: 'Yes.' He continued: 'What has induced thee to do this thing?' That accursed fellow replied: 'Forty mornings I have been sharpening my sword and asking the Creator—who be praised and exalted—that I might kill therewith the worst of God's creatures.' His lordship replied: 'I shall see thee killed, for thou art the worst of the creatures of God.' After that he let go Ebn Mulajjam, and continued: 'Kill him when I am dead, but not publicly, because I have heard the apostle of Allah say: "Avoid a public execution, even though it be that of a mad dog."' There is a tradition that he said to Hasan the Amir of the Faithful: 'Keep Ebn Mulajjam, withhold neither food nor

[143] This took place A.H. 5. See Part II., vol. II., p. 456, of this work

drink from him, but when I die kill him with not more than one blow.' In short, after the demise of that prince of men, Ebn Mulajjam was slain, whereon some of the partisans [of A'li] wrapped his wicked body in a mat and burnt it.—It is recorded in the history of Abu Hanifah Dinwari that when the pure spirit of A'li the Amir of the Faithful had departed from his sacred body, A'bdullah B. Jâfer B. Abu Ttâleb ordered the eyes of Ebn Mulajjam to be pierced with a bodkin, and his hands, as well as his feet, to be cut off; but when he said, 'cut out his tongue,' that accursed fellow manifested the greatest distress and terror. Then A'bdullah B. Ja'fer asked: 'How is it that thou hast remained quiet when they were cutting off thy hands, thy feet, and piercing thy eyes, but groanest and lamentest when they want to cut out thy tongue?' He replied: 'My lamentation is not for fear of death, but I would be sorry to remain one hour in the world without being able to utter the name of the beneficent Sovereign and Nourisher of the inhabitants of the world.'

It is on record that in the agony of death A'li the Commander of the Faithful gave many instructions to his sons, and one of them was that he said to Hasan the Amir of the Faithful: 'When I am dead, do not let the people know where my grave is, because I have with my own hands slain ten thousand infidels and brave warriors of Islâm whom it was necessary to kill, and I fear their heirs would open my grave, but I fear the Bani Ommyah most.' When he had finished giving advice, his joy-bearing mouth, which was the interpreter of Divine mysteries, uttered the beauteous *Kalimat*[149] till the time when he passed away. "*We belong to Allah, and unto Him we shall return.*"[150]

Some authors of histories state that A'li the Amir of the Faithful reached the proximity of Divine mercy on the twentieth of the month Ramadzân; others, however, say that it was on the seventeenth, and others the twenty-first

[149] The profession of Faith: 'I testify that there is no God but Allah, and that Muhammad is the apostle of Allah.'

[150] Quran, ch. ii. 151.

of the same month. It is alleged that on this subject there are also other traditions, but there is a unanimous consensus of U'lamá and biographers that this important event took place in the year forty. Concerning the spot where his lordship was buried there are also various opinions, but in a trustworthy book it is recorded that he was interred in the locality which is visited by pilgrims and blessed. The duration of the Khalifate of his lordship amounted to four years and nine months. According to accredited statements, his age was sixty-three years, but He [*i.e.*, Allah] knows best the true state of the case. The spiritual perfections of him who is near the court of the Most High stand in no need of explanation; if, however, the times are propitious, it is hoped that, following the masters of eloquence, some pleasant accounts on this subject will be given at the beginning of the third part [of this work], if Allah the Most High willeth.

Distich: Thanks that this book has reached its end,
Has been finished during my life.

Let it not remain veiled and hidden from fortunate individuals endowed with pure minds and good intentions, that from the commencement of collecting materials and composing this book, till the completion of it, misgivings, which are by knowing men called the internal Sátan, so prevailed over the mind of the author, and still prevail, that he considered within himself from morn till eve what event might happen to increase his trouble and misery; meditating also, from the time the world-illuminating sun set till the rise of the dawn, without enjoying a moment's sleep, what would take place during the day which might become the cause of the augmentation of his toil and sorrow. It is plain what may be expected from a broken heart and troubled mind. These leaves have been written to attain the felicity of attracting the attention of the mind brilliant like the sun and of exalted station, the like of whom had, according to the opinion of historians, not been sitting on the throne of dominion from the beginning [of

the world] till our times;[151] a noble individual, in comparison to whose spiritual attainments those of accomplished men are but a sprinkling of the Sea of O'mân, and the utterances of eloquent men but a drop of the boundless ocean when likened to his brilliant words. His world-adorning mind is the flambeau of [Divine] guidance, and his difficulty-solving nature is the lamp pointing to sagacity.

When the sun of thy intellect throws a shadow on the sky,
The moon gets ashamed of the sphere-illuminating sun.
To thy lucid mind the mysteries of the universe are revealed.
The receptacle of Divine light cannot be hidden.

By the showers of the clouds of his beneficence the meadows of expectation are irrigated, and by gifts from his pearl-dropping hands the vehicles of hope are heavily loaded. This gracious disposition is a pledge that every hope entertained by a destitute person having recourse to him will be fulfilled by a bounty from the treasury of his munificence. By the perfumes of his universal favour the rose of expectation is blooming in the meadow of hope, and the zephyr of his generous nature has caused the tree of desire to bear fruit in the garden of hope.

As the exhalations of the rose are kindred to thy nature,
The philomel sings its praises with a hundred tongues.[152]

May his majesty the Creator—who be praised and exalted—conserve the exquisite person and unequalled individuality of the enlightened Amir upon the couch of felicity with honour and glory till the day of the resurrection, and prosper this dignitary in his temporal wishes and in his eternal hopes, by His grace and favour.

[151] Amir A'li Shir, the prime minister of Sultân Husain Mirza, ruler of Khorâsân, was the patron of our author, who thus praises him without mentioning the real sovereign. Also Khondemir, the grandson of our author, and Daulat Shah, who wrote the well-known anthology of poets, dedicated their works to A'li Shir, whose collection of odes in the Chagatai language consists of 10,000, and his parody on Nizâmi's 'five poems,' of 30,000 couplets.

[152] The 'Hazâr' and the 'Bulbul,' being the lovers of the rose, are courting it with plaintive melodies, according to the poets.

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